DEDICATION

This book is dedicated to the American people, foremost in the world as lovers of liberty, whose own struggle for independence against India's oppressors, the British, has been a perpetual inspiration to the millions of oppressed and liberty-less Indians to strive to achieve that same Precious birthright of man—Freedom.

GANDHI PRAYS FOR WORLD PEACE



By Boris Georgiev

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ILLUSTRATIONS

"LET ENGLAND LEAVE INDIA ALONE"

Says Rabindranath Tagore

"The problem of India is more complicated, but what I say to the British Government is that they should leave us alone, to our destiny, and let us solve our own problems in the light of experiment and efforts and necessary suffering. We need the wisdom born of experience and initiative and must face reality in our own way so that we may exploit the full potentialities of our people.

When others talk of our communal conflicts, *linguistic* differences and various social disharmonies, they conveniently forget that Europe also, even a short time ago, was in no better plight and yet she did not unmanfully accept her limitations as inevitable ; she has struggled through her dark periods at the cost of immense suffering and sacrifice which have been worthily rewarded by access to a people's eternal right to self-rule.

Spanish inquisitions, witch-burning, Catholic and Protestant warfare, anti-scientific campaigns and fanaticism—you can go on adding to such unenviable activities of Europe till you come to the Great War when science and modernism only helped to intensify the savagery of fratricidal combat.

Let ihe people of Asia profit by the lessons which their brothers in the West have to teach us. Truth and freedom are for all, and we shall be proud to accept the gifts of modern Western science, adapting them to the needs of our national genius, and our special traditions and circumstances.

India is on her path to self-realisation. She cannot afford to waste her priceless spiritual and intellectual resources in enforced

emulation of ready-made ideals from outside. She must evolve her own civilisation unhampered by her dead past or her modern political slavery.

My visit to Persia has given me faith in the power of the Eastern peoples to assert themselves and to quickly find their way to a united realisation of their undying heritage, in spite of conflicts and difficult economic circumstances."

PREFACE

"I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice. I am in earnest. I will not equivocate, I will not excuse. I will not retreat a single inch, and I will be heard."

—William Llyod Garrison

"If the wicked flourish and you suffer, be not discouraged. They are fatted for destruction, you are dieted for health." *—Fuller*

Believe it or not, the "Mighty British Empire" is vanishing *and the next decade will put England in her proper place.* While England celebrates the coronation of "the last Emperor of India," the heart of the Empire is seething with resentment against the tyranny of British rule and 350 million Indians prepare for the last fight. The Empire is faced with an unparalleled revolution, which will mark the end of the Empire. The wheels of destiny, which seem to be driving slow, will grind exceedingly fine. That is the will of God.

I am not building my prophecy on sentiment alone but upon facts, supported by Bertrand Russell, Bernard Shaw, Charles Edward Russell and other noted writers (quoted in Chapter XVII, *The Vanishing Empire*). A writer in a sober paper like the *New York Times* recently remarked, "It is unfortunately no exaggeration to say that recent events have brought the British Government's prestige, both at home and abroad, to the lowest ebb it has reached in many years." The author of the *Future of the British Empire* is definitely of the opinion that it is absolutely dark.

Writing about the "hesitancy, futility and the hypocrisy" of *the British Government, a writer observes in the New York Herald Tribune,* that the negotiations of the last five months

"had laid bare to a frightful degree the impotency or worse of British statesmenship."

The noted British Earl, Betrand Russell, also believes that the British Government is suffering from paralysis. My forecast is not based solely on the declaration of others, but mainly on the fact that India—the pivot of the British Empire—is fast slipping, and when India slips, the Empire will collapse. I have presented hard facts to prove my contention, and those who have eyes can see what is in store for the British Empire.

Significance of India: That India is called the "Brightest Jewel of the British Crown" is not without reason. India's importance to the very bread and butter of our rulers is fully described in Chapter IV. What I want to stress here is the fact that India is playing a very important role in the Foreign Offices of Europe and the East today. "But for the British occupation of India the history of Europe during the last half century would have been much different.

"British foreign policy has always been dominated by the fear of losing India. Sea communications to the great Empire have to be kept free of foreign interference and this necessity led to many regrettable happenings in the past. Most Egyptian Wafdists laid the blame for the continued British occupation of Egypt at the door of India. Egypt and the Canal Zone can not be allowed to fall into the hands of any other great Power. Lord Curzon's scheme of partitioning Persia owed its origin to the necessity of keeping the approaches to India free from the influence of any other Power. Even now the political agencies at Kuwait, Muscat and Baherin are maintained at the expense of the Indian tax-payer. Aden and the Island of Perim are still being financed from the Indian revenues.

"The British stranglehold (miscalled Mandate) is being retained in Iraq and Palestine, especially for the benefit of India. For all the unhappiness caused to our neighbours in Asia, the possession of India by Great Britain is mainly responsible. No

wonder Arab nationalists blame India for their bad luck! Poor Zaglul suffered and died because Britain's imperial policy could *not entertain a free Egypt on the route to India. It is said that Colonel Lawrence* died a broken-hearted man because Great Britain did not keep the promises he made to the Arab nationalists during the days of the Great War.

"The annexation of Abyssinia by Italy has endangered the sea-route to India and is a direct challenge to British supremacy in the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Consequently, *Britain* is busy re-examining the whole question of communications to her possessions in Asia. Therefore, Cape Town is assuming greater importance than ever before, because the short sea-route *via the* Suez Canal is more or less dependent upon the good-will of a foreign Power.

"The difficulties of Great Britain will increase and not lessen *with the* passage of time, as Arab nationalists are likely to demand a higher price for their loyalty to the British cause. The only solution, therefore, seems to be that at some time or other the Italian challenge has to be met. From what one can judge at the present moment, it is conceivable that Britain and Italy will be in opposite camps in the next Great War, unless Britain swallows the bitter pill, and agrees to part peacefully with some of her North African possessions. Great Britain would surely have kept herself out of all European entanglements were it not for her possession of India. And it is also doubtful if Italy would have had the urge to expand and colonise if she did not have a brilliant example before her.

"The story of the 'Nabobs' in England, during the days of the East India Company, the great influx of wealth into England from India just during the days of the Industrial Revolution, the annual drain from India in the shape of pay, pensions, dividends and preferential sale of British goods have raised the cupidity of some European nations to such an extent that they are willing to risk all in order to try the same experiment Great Britain did. India has been a bad example to dangle before European

Chancellories. And one can truthfully say that India has affected the foreign policy of the European Powers so very greatly that it is possible she may be instrumental in bringing about another Great European War."

But England and her rivals are all mistaken if they think that India can be enslaved any longer. India is in the throes of a great revolution, which will see the termination of exploitation not only by foreigners but also by Indian landlords, princes, money-lenders, false prophets of religion and arm-chair politicians. Long have the 350 millions suffered from starvation and now comes a Messiah (Jawahar Lal Nehru) who has convinced them that it is within their power to end their agony by refusing to be exploited any more. "End poverty" is the slogan of millions of peasants who live in 700,000 villages of India and they will know no rest till the goal is achieved.

The story of India's sacrifices for freedom, contained in Chapters VIII to XV, will convince the reader that Indians are proving themselves worthy of the great gift-freedom.

To Our Critics: Every cause, however righteous; has its critics and so we too are faced with objections to according India its freedom. Their main theory that the British are saving Hindus and Muslims from swallowing each other has been completely smashed in the Sixth Chapter "The Monkey Drama"; and I dare say no one will advance that theory any more after reading hard facts as to how the British deliberately engineer religious and communal fights in India. We are prepared to bow to the decision of any international oommission deputed to investigate the charges made in this book.

The Bogey of Anarchy: 'To those who occasionally refer to the bogey of 'anarchy after the British rule ends,' I can give no better reply than what the late Lala Lajpat Rai declared in the Legislative Assembly :

"What anarchy can be greater than the anarchy of law

imposed at the point of a bayonet by a foreigner or a body of foreigners? That is the greatest anarchy which can be inflicted on any self-respecting nation. What anarchy can be greater than the anarchy involved in the position that the people for whom governments are made, for whom governments are constituted, should have no voice in the determination of their fate? There can be no anarchy greater than that. All anarchies are followed at some time or other by established and sound systems of government.

"We are not scared by these threats of anarchy. I wish to say from my place in this House, that I am not at all afraid of any anarchy that might follow the withdrawal of the British from this country. I am prepared for the worst. What can be worse than the conditions in which we are living now? There can be nothing worse. We have reached the lowest depths of misery and degradation imaginable. There can be nothing lower than that and if the British Government think that by their withdrawal we shall be warring with each other, I shall welcome even that condition; because after all, after a few years of warring and quarrelling, or even bloodshed, we shall be settling down and forming some kind of government, which will be our own handiwork, and which we can improve later on." If India could live, prosper and shine for thousands of years before British rule, it can do so again. After all, the rest of the world is being managed without British protection. Whether we are fit to govern or not, that is no argument for foreigners to interfere in our affairs. Self-Government is the birthright of every nation and India can not be made an exception. It has hitherto been governed entirely in the interests of England, with the result that today the average income of an Englishman is 20 times that of an Indian and the average years of existence of the people of England and those of India are 52 and 22 respectively.

Another objection advanced by our critics is that India will not be able to maintain her independence even if she wins it.

But we are not asking for the boon of independence. We want to win it. Surely people who are equal to winning independence, would also be equal to keeping it.

British Friendship: Yet another point raised by our critics is that independence, when won, will result in the loss of the friendship and help of Great Britain, which are needed in the interest of India. The reply is that neither the hostility nor the friendship of any nation is a constant factor. A nation—say the British nation—may be and is at one time friendly; and at some other time, inimical to another nation, according to its own interests. (Japan fought Germany in the last war, but she is the best friend of Germany today). Surely, it may be presumed that Britain will find it advantageous to herself to conclude an alliance with an India strong enough to win independence. Moreover, if Britain be not wise enough to do so, there are other strong nations with whom treaties or alliance can be concluded.

Why Not Dominion Status: There are hundreds of intelligent Americans and others who believe that India has been granted Dominion Status (like Canada and Australia) and should be satisfied with it. But where is that Dominion Status? The new constitution bestowed on India is far short of it, as has been explained in the Fifth Chapter, "Broken Pledges." The British Government have welshed on all the pledges given at the critical time of the last war, and they have no intention of treating India on footing of equality with the dominions. The latest example of British "diplomacy" and of the hollowness of its golden promises is the Government of India Act of 1935, under which the police, military and treasury have been carefully retained under the Governor's control, although the power was apparently transferred to the ministers.

Rev. C. F. Andrews, an author of repute, exploded the theory of "Dominion Status for India" nearly two decades back, and proved by thorough reasoning that Britain would never agree to

grant Dominion Status to India. I could quote several other English views to prove that English politicians (the majority of them) do not believe in keeping their promises and that they laugh at India's dream of being "An equal partner in the British Empire," but space does not permit me doing so.

Often has the question been put to me in America: "Will India be satisfied with Dominion Status like Canada?" and my answer has been a definite "No," because of the following reasons often repeated by our statesmen:

(1) There is no social kinship between the two countries.

(2) There is hardly anything in common between the cultures of India and Britain.

(3) From the economic standpoint, India is to Britain a supplier of raw materials and a consumer of British manufactures. On the other hand, India aspires to be a manufacturing country, so that she could become not only self-sufficient in manufactured goods, but could also export them and raw materials as well.

(4) India is at present one of the biggest markets for Great Britain. The industrial progress of India is therefore against Britain's economic interests.

(5) India affords employment at present to young Britishers in the army and civil administration in India. But this is against India's interests. India wants her own children to occupy all these posts.

(6) India is sufficiently strong and has enough resources to be able to stand on her own legs without the help or patronage of Great Britain. In this respect the position of India is quite different from that of the dominions.

(7) India has so long been exploited and dominated by Britain that there is a genuine apprehension that in the event of a political compromise between the two countries, India will stand to lose and Britain will stand to gain. Moreover, India has developed an "inferiority complex" as a result of her long servitude, and this "inferiority complex" will remain as

long as India is not completely independent of Britain.

(8) India wants the status of a free country, with her own flag, her own army, navy, and defence force; and with her own ambassadors in the capitals of free countries. Without this invigorating and life-giving freedom, Indians will never be able to rise to the full stature of their manhood. Independence is to India a psychological, ethical, cultural, economic and political necessity. It is an essential condition of the new awakening in India. Independence, which India aspires after today, is not "Dominion Home Rule," as we find it in Canada or Australia, but full national sovereignty as obtains in the United States of America or France.

(9) As long as India remains within the British Empire she will not be able to safeguard the interests of other Indians who have settled in other parts of the Empire. The weight of Great Britain has always been, and always will be, thrown on the side of white race—as against the Indians. An independent India, on the other hand, will be able to secure better treatment for her children who have settled in different parts of the British Empire.

It will thus be seen that the basis of a compromise between India and Great Britain does not exist. The social, economic and political forces working within India are such that no peace is possible between India and Britain until India's legitimate aspirations are fulfilled.

The only solution of the present deadlock possible is the attainment of India's freedom. This implies the end of British Government in India.

To The British People: With all the sincerity at my command I want to assure the English people (the masses) that we bear no ill-will toward them. Our complaint is against the arrogant British rulers, who are exploiting both the Indian and the British masses.

A Labourite member in the House of Commons (London) created a mild sensation when he emphatically declared that the

we are unfit to defend our homes, that we are unfit to defend our hearths, and that we are unfit even to manage our railways. Not only are we unfit to manage the railways, but we are unfit to manage our finances. Is there anything we are fit to manage except to be tools of the British Government for the aggrandisement of Great Britain? We are only fit to pay taxes, we are only fit to be used as tools. Is that the proud record of two centuries of British rule? And if that is true, can we ever expect the British to help us stand on our own feet? The reader will find ample material in this book, throwing considerable light on the achievements of our British rulers. The facts and figures in the Appendix will tell him the whole story. Facts are the best evidence and need no comments. The facts will convince the reader that no half-hearted reforms can make India happy. Nothing but complete freedom can enable us to get rid of two great wolves—starvation and unemployment. I don't think there is any Englishman true to his traditions, who can deny us our right to manage our home. India knew the art of good government centuries before the English learnt the use of pants. India had republics in every village and its people were so happy and prosperous that their prosperity attracted all the nations of Europe to trade with them. Today we are advised to undergo the tutorship of Great Britain in the art of government. What a misfortune! We have had Englishmen and Englishwomen like Allan Hume (Father of the Indian National Congress), Sir William Wedderburn, William Digby, Charles Bradlaugh, Dr.Annie Besant, and others, whom we honour and adore for their services to India. We would love to honour every Englishman in India if only he would work in the spirit of helping us to rise out of the unfortunate position into which, by the vicissitudes of time and fortune, we have fallen. But alas, our rulers have forgotten the lessons of America and Ireland and prefer bloodshed to friendship. They are determined to do the worst. I can not better conclude this appeal than by quoting the warning of a prominent liberal leader: "Say what

you will, do what you can, take what advantages you can of the yet unfortunate divisions in our ranks by playing one against the other; but remember the day of reckoning foreshadowed in the never-to-be-forgotten lines of your own great poet :

'Yet Freedom! Yet thy banner, torn but flying,
Streams like the thunderstorm against the wind."

Tokyo, April, 1937 CHAMAN LAL

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

A PROPHECY FULFILLED

A WARNING TO POLITICIANS

Thirty three years ago this book was born in a Y.W.C.A. meeting in the richest University of America, the Stanford University in Palo Alto. After my lecture a young lady asked me the questions :—

"*What do you think of the British* Empire ?"

I told her

"Why *do you* want to worry about an empire which is already vanishing ?" She suggested :—

"Why not write a book on this theme". I returned to India to write the book and dig up all photographs of British misdeeds. The purpose in writing the 200 year record of British rule was to acquaint the civilised world with what the British had done and to cheer up my countrymen that freedom was around the corner, and our better days were coming. (True revolutions are inspired by God and readers like Gandhi, Nehru and Netaji Subhas Bose and revolutionaries like Har Dayal, Rash Behari Bose, Chandrashekar and Bhagat Singh—these *Punya Atmas*—(noble souls) are gifts of God to slave countries. Sacrifice is the key to freedom, just as too much wealth and disunity lead to slavery.

The history of India and especially that of our North West Frontier (in which I include the proud State of Punjab pre-partition) is a history of Sacrifices. Which other country in the world can boast of a leader like Guru Tegh Bahadur, his four sons, and himself in the struggle for freedom of India ? It was their sacrifices and of thousands of Sikhs,

Rajputs, Marathas, Jats and others that ended the Mughal Empire ?

Lest We Forget : I added four chapters to the book published on 15th August 1937.

(1) Vir Bhagat Singh
(2) My two Heroes
(3) Predictions that Came True
(4) Round the World without a Passport.

The history of India during the 19th and twentieth century is a saga of secrifice. Truly said Netaji—

"Give me your blood and I will bring you freedom." Guru Gobind Singh had given the clarion call long ago "If you want freedom come to me with your head on the palm of your hand." Rana Pratap, Padmini, Jewels of Rajasthan; Chhatar Pati Shivaji, great leader of Maharashtra; Rani Laxmi Bai of Jhansi and thousands of brave sons and daughters of Punjab, Bengal and Utter Pradesh and especially that of the illustrious North West Frontier Province now groaning under Ayub's *Zullam*, contributed richly to the struggle for freedom. We must observe the Martyrs day—30th January (the day of Gandhi's Martyrdom) with all solemnity and gratitude.

Law of Karma : The Law of Karma (as you sow, so shall you reap) applies not only to individuals but also to nations.

Hindu Blunders : The Aryans, the most glorious people on earth carried the torch of culture to far off lands, established the Empire of Surya, 3500 years ago in present day Syria. The Bible tells of its rulers like Vidya Dutt, Chandra Dutt and Ishwar Dutt. Our ancestors ruled the entire South East Asia for 15 Centuries and established the Inca Empire in South America, where they ruled until 400 years ago. The Incas (Ayar Brahmins) were the Best rulers in the world (Read my book "Hindu America"). Why and how these great

Empires vanished I have explained in the Chapter Hindu Blunders in America" (In my book "Hindu America"). Here I sum it up:

(1) Accumulation of too much wealth.

(2) Disunity, Jealousies and "Touch me notism".

(3) Lack of diplomacy.

(4) Failure to understand the invaders philosophy.

(5) And lack of proper weapons to fight the greedy invaders, were some of the factors that led to our fall and what a mighty fall: those who contributed to the building of so many nations and countries in Asia, Africa, and America are being kicked out from every part of the world, because we are not united and strong. Just think of the record of our Parliamentarians and their ugly exhibitions from day-to-day. Politicians who goad public servants to strike; Politicians who exploit students to wreck our Universities, Politicians who defame democracy by not permitting the Prime Minister to speak:

> *Today we have no Leader to inspire the Nation, we are being ruled by Unpatriotic Babus and most corrupt Politicians—who expoloit Indira—A Geat Daughter of A Great Father.*

A Warning to Pirates: I want to warn these politicians to put an end to their evil deeds and not weaken the country and forge shackles of bondage once again.

We have paid dearly for our Karma for a thousand years. Now that we are free, we must behave like brave and free people and not like selfish cowards like Jai Chand. We cannot afford to have Jai Chand. We must all unite, love each other than create political castes (all parties are behaving as different castes). *They are not behaving as patriots, most of them claiming to be patriots are pure and simple pirates.* I have never known pessimism and I am sure this confusion must end just as moon follows the darkest night.

Selfishness, thoughtlessness, jealousies and treachery brought us centuries of slavery. Let us not repeat those blunders and behave as faithful and sincere sons of *Bharatmata.* India cannot afford disunity, strikes and especially treachery.

Politicians, please stop treacherous deeds, you have exploited the people enough for 22 years, many of you have piled up fortunes, live in palaces and enjoy comforts at the expense of starving people. Your Karma will not only destroy you but destroy our freedom if you are not put in your proper places. I am sure the days of our misdeeds are numbered. The sacrifices of our true patriots in the last few centuries shall not go in vain and pirates shall kiss the dust. If the nation at all needs a slogan it is this :—

"Patriots unite, comb out the pirates."

Follow in the footsteps of our great spiritual leaders and martyrs—India needs Renunciation and not grab Hardwork and not strikes, Unity and not parties.

Arise sons and daughters of India : Weed out corrupt politicians, take the reigns in your hands. Future is in your hands.

JAI HIND

26th January, 1969.

CHAMAN LAL

A TRUE AMERICAN



The late Rev. Dr. J. T. Sunderland, author of "India in Bondage," and a sincere friend of India.

CHAPTER I

TO LOVERS OF LIBERTY

"They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak;
True freedom is to share
All the chains our brothers wear,
And with heart and hand to be
Earnest to make others free."

"No man is good enough to rule another man, and no nation is good enough to rule another nation. For a man to rule himself is liberty; for a nation to rule itself is liberty. But for either to rule another is tyranny. If a nation robs another of its freedom, it does not deserve freedom for itself, and under a just God it will not long retain it."—Abraham Lincoln

The American Declaration of Independence Affirms: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

America is the happy hunting ground for anti-Indian propa-

ganda. There are nearly 2000 British propagandists engaged in the work of slandering India. Mr. Churchill, Sir John Simon, Lord Lytton and many a British imperialist have been deputed from time to time to injure the cause of India's freedom. Why is Great Britain spending millions to defame India on the American continent?—Because India looks to the liberty-loving people of America for sympathy in her struggle; and Britain is determined to deprive us of the moral sympathy of the great American people, whose forefathers had to declare an armed revolution against the very British rulers who deny freedom to 350 million people of India.

American history is repeating itself in India today. The Indian struggle for independence is actually paralleling the American struggle for independence from British subjugation in the 18th century.

(I) It was protest against rule by a Parliament situated thousands of miles away that sowed the seeds of independence in America; and it was that very idea, imbibed from your history, that laid the foundations of the Indian National Congress.

(2) The story of the "Tea Tax" and the "Stamp Act" was repeated in India (and still is) by the imposition of heavy taxes on Indian manufactures; thus bringing about the ruin of Indian industries by the most unfair and cruel means.

(3) India resorted to the weapon of boycott, which your ancestors had successfully employed 150 years ago. Informed Americans are aware of how peaceful volunteers picketing shops containing British goods were arrested, beaten, bayonetted, shot and trampled under horses' hoofs.

(4) It was the "Boston Firing" that kindled the desire in your ancestors to fight to the end for freedom. Similarly it was the "Jallianwala Firing" (in which 1200 persons were killed and 3000 men, women and children wounded) that gave an undying stimulus to the movement for freedom in India. It was this firing that converted Gandhi from a loyal British subject

COMRADES, ONWARD TO LIBERTY!



"We have worked for the dawn, but the long night has continued and it may continue, how long I do not know. Many of us, now in the vanguard of the nation's fight, will not live to see the dawn. But the dawn will come. Meanwhile, the torch has got to be kept burning to light the path. And I want to know how many brave arms there are amongst you to take this torch from falling hands. I would enjoin you all to prepare yourself for this noble task that is soon to devolve you."

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LEADERS OF ASIA

Saviour of India



Mahatma Gandhi

Saviour of China



The Late Dr. Sun Yat Sen

Builder of Emancipated Turkey



Kamal Ataturk

Ruler of Iran



H.M. Riza Shah Pahlvi

into a rebel, and gave him immense strength to lead the nation to freedom. Gandhi has achieved wonders in less than two decades, and it is my definite forecast that he will live to see his dream of Indian freedom realized in another decade, though it is not sure that it will be through non-violence, since the British rulers have proved that the best way of preaching Christianity to India is by aerial bombing of innocent villagers, shooting of children, women and helpless peasants, burning of villages and other similar barbarous acts.

The four instances above are enough to show that the British are re-enacting the drama that was witnessed by American lovers of liberty in the 18th century. It is quite natural that we Indians who have received tremendous inspiration from your history should look towards you for moral support and nothing beyond that.

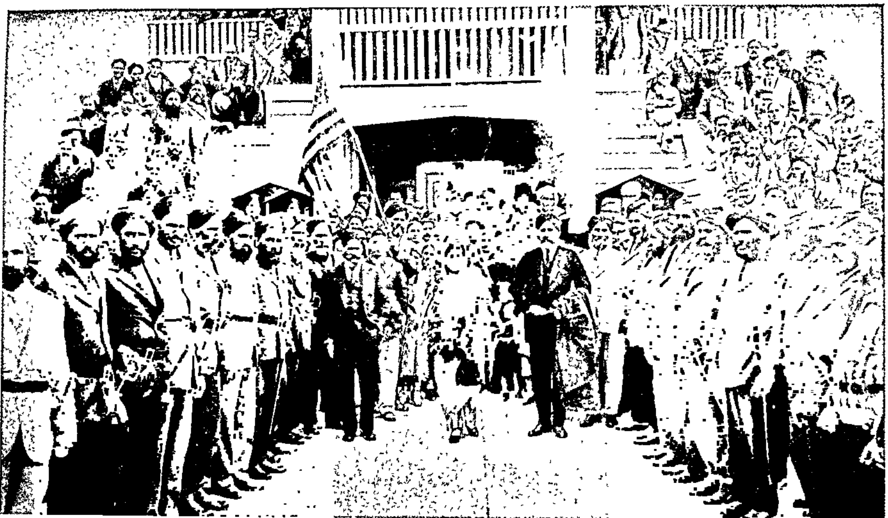
Our Mutual Debt: It was India that found the great American continent for you. It was the love of "Golden Ind" that brought Columbus by mistake to America and it is American history that has guided us in our fight to shake off the British yoke. The very definition of Swarajya (Self Government) used in India is one hundred per cent American. Abraham Lincoln's famous formula "government of the people, by the people and for the people" is a household slogan in every cottage of India. *No simpler, clearer or more impressive definition of self-government* could have been coined. It is this slogan that is responsible for the overwhelming victories of the Indian National Congress, in the recent elections held under the new constitution, pompously advertized as the "Magna Carta of freedom."

We are under a great debt of gratitude to the American people for giving us an inspiration, which cannot be measured or priced in terms of gold or dollars. A free India alone can express her gratitude. America has always not only inspired, but honored, the Indian patriots. Gandhi and Tagore are respected from the Atlantic to the Pacific and there is hardly an American

who does not have a liking for Gandhi. I recall my visit to America's largest prison, San Quentin, where thousands of prisoners attending a baseball game shouted at me: "Hello Gandhi, How is Gandhi ?" The services of the illustrious scholar Dr. Sunderland, champion of India's freedom, Swami Viveka Nanda, and the great patriot, Lala Lajpat Rai in bringing America and India closer, will never be forgotten. Even today our patriots Dr. Tarak Nath Das, Dr. Syud Hossain, Professor Sudhindra Bose, Mr. G. B. Lal, Dr. Haridas Majumdar and societies like the Ghaddar Party, Hindustan Association of New York, India League and Bharat Welfare Society of California are receiving warm support from American friends of India. In every city and town in America one meets liberty-loving Americans who take keen interest in our struggle. Many Indians on their return from America use the word "American" after their names with pride (just like a caste), because this means that they are imbued with the idea of liberty. Many of them, especially those who have lived in California, are arrested on their return to India and are detained without trial for months, in order to punish them for importing the love of liberty from America. This is happening even today.

American Verdict: While a few hired Americans like Miss Mayo have defamed India, there are hundreds of eminent American statesmen, writers, and leaders in thought and religion who have always expressed sympathy with India and whose opinions undoubtedly carry tremendous weight with the people of America. The declarations of George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Thomas Paine and Woodrow Wilson are household words in America and need not be given here; but I take the liberty of quoting the statements of some American friends on British rule, to acquaint young Americans (for whom this book has been compiled) with them. I quote from *India* in *Bondage* by the late Dr. J. T. Sunderland, a Great American patriot, who though born an Englishman, devoted most of his life to champion-

UNDER THE FLAG OF LIBERTY



Indian Patriots in California "present Arms" to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu outside the Sikh Temple at Stockton.

Photo—Pritam Singh

ing India's liberty.

(1) William T. Harris, United States Commissioner of Education: "England's educational policy in India is a blight on civillization. I have studied the problem pretty closely. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, Wilberforce, the English philanthropist, proposed to send school teachers to India, but a director of the East India Company objected, saying: 'We have just lost America from our folly in allowing the establishment of schools and colleges, and it would not do for us to repeat the same act of folly in regards to India.'

"There are no free public schools in British India, and no compulsory system of even primary education. Young Indians are hungry for education; and it is England's duty to do whatever she can help the spread of education in that great country of ancient culture and wonderful philosophy."

These words are part of an address delivered by Dr. Harris before the American National Council of Education at its meeting in Cleveland, in 1908. The British Government has made very little advance in popular education in India since these statements were made.

(2) "The millions of Indians have bowed their necks beneath the yoke of many conquerors, but worst of all is the steady grinding weight of the English domination—a weight which is literally crushing millions out of existence, and, as shown by English writers themselves, is tending inevitable to a wide catastrophe. Other conquerors have lived in the land, and, though bad and tyrannous in their rule, have understood, and been understood by the people. But India now is like a great estate owned by an absentee and alien landlord."—Henry George.

(3) Mr. Andrew Carnegie made a visit to India, and after his return contributed several articles to periodicals giving his impressions. From one published in *The Nineteenth Century*

and After, of August, 1906, and a second, in *Der Morgen*, a German paper (January 17, 1808, republished in English in *The Mahratta* of Poona, India, February, 1908), I take the following brief passages :

"I have travelled through India and been introduced to leading natives as well as to British officials. To the Briton, his master, the Indian is naturally reserved; but to the American he is drawn by sympathetic bonds; thus I believe I obtained an insight into the situation in India which few-Britons can secure. There is a strong desire on the part of the educated Indians to govern their own country. Education makes rebels against invaders and conquerors. Young Indians know the long and glorious struggle of the English people against absolute monarchy; they also know the story of Washington and the American Revolution. These histories cannot be read by men whose country is under a foreign yoke without inspiring in them an invincible resolve to free and govern their own country . . . It is not Russia or any foreign attack that the British military officials dread. It is the strong home rule sentiment. It is not against the foreigners, but against the Indian people, that the legions are to be moved ....It seems the fashion to speak of India as 'the brightest jewel in the British Crown.' God grant that this gem may not one day glow blood red! If a native of India lives in contentment while his country is ruled by foreigners, we despise him. ....I do not believe God ever made any man or any nation good enough to rule another man or another nation."

(4) Charles Edward Russell, well known diplomat and author of many books says (in an article in *Young India*, New York, August, 1920):

"I know of nothing more extraodinary than that any American could think or speak favorably or even tolerantly of political absolutism, political despotism . . . that which exists in India today, or any other. If America does not stand for free government, everywhere, will some one kindly tell me what it does.

INDIA'S AMBASSADOR WELCOMED



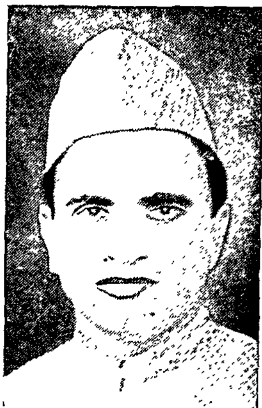
The Mayor of San Francisco welcoming the late Mr. V. J. Patel, President, of the *Indian Parliament*,

A TALENTED INDIAN



Mr. Gobind Behari Lal, Science Editor of the Hearst papers in America

A HUMBLE SOLDIER



The Writer

BUILDERS OF INDIA

Noble English Lady



The Late Mrs. Annie Besant

Father of Indian Nationalism



Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji

Lion of the Punjab



The Late Lala Lajpat Rai

"Swaraj is our Birthright"



The Late Mr. B. G. Tilak

stand for? The idea that we are to applaud political autocracy is because it is British somewhat refreshing. Does wearing the British name change its character? We are not called upon to admire absolutism because it is Russian or Turkish, or was at one time Prussian. There is no more reason why we should admire or tolerate it because it is British. The subjugation and rule of one nation by another, wherever it may be found, is loathsome, hateful, poisonous to the people who are compelled to live under it. Yet this is what we have in India—a foreign rule forced on a great civilized people by the power of the bayonet, and the bomb-bearing aeroplane."

(5) Professor Edward E. Ross, University of Wisconsin.

In an address delivered in New York in January, 1926, on his return from an extended visit to India, Professor Ross gave the following interesting testimony as to the intellectual ability of the Indian people, and therefore their fitness to govern themselves: "I was greatly impressed with the physical beauty of the people of India, and still more with their intellectual ability. Being myself a university professor, I was particularly interested in the students there, of whom I met a large number. The students of India struck me as much more studious and much more serious in their attitude toward life than the students of America. They seemed conscious of the studies. Once I asked an American missionary: 'What do you think of the intellectual capacity of the Indian people as a whole?' He answered: 'There is no question that it is equal to that of the American people. I think it is even greater.' "

Should such a people be held in bondage by a foreign power?

(6) Professor Robert Morss Lovett, University of Chicago.

In his introduction to *India in World Politics* (by Dr. Taraknath Das, 1924) Professor Lovett says:

"It is only because of the myopic vision with which we tend to view the ethics of nations, that holding in political subjection

and social inferiority of three hundred millions of human beings by forty millions, who are for the most part entirely ignorant and uninterested in their wards, does not appear as a hideous abnormality."

(7) United States Senator George W. Norris, Nebraska.

Much has been said at one time and another in both Houses of the United States Congress, condemning the forced rule of one nation by another, especially the most conspicuous case of such rule now existing in the world, that of great historic, civilized India by Britain.

In a speech delivered in the Senate in February, 1920, Senator Norris defended the right of the people of India to freedom, and especially condemned the conduct of Great Britain in refusing to give India self-government after she had sent more than a million men into the Great War of 1914-18 to fight on Britain's side.

(8) Senator Joseph I. France.

On the 14th of October, 1919, Senator France, of Maryland, delivered a speech in the United States Senate, on the ratification of the Versailles Treaty. He opposed the ratification on several grounds, one of which was that the treaty practically guaranteed the perpetuity of British rule in India—a rule which, he contended, had reduced the Indian people from a great, rich and influential nation, to a condition of helplessness and abject poverty. He summed up by saying :

"Gentlemen of the Senate, we, the United States of America, cannot justify ourselves in signing and sealing an international agreement which thus sanctions and aims to make permanent the practical enslavement of a great nation (India) and which, making the situation still worse, also gives and guarantees to Great Britain rule and exploitation."

(9) Congressman William E. Mason.

THE CONGRESS CABINET



A HISTORIC CONGRESS



The late Pandit Moti Lal Nehru (President). in the centre and the late Mr. Sen Gupta to his right and Subhas Chandra Bose, Mayor of Calcutta to his left, Mr. Bose is in prison withoud trial.

On March 2, 1920, Congressman Mason, of Illinois, carried the cause of India into the United States House of Representatives, delivering an address on the crime of Great Britain in holding a great civilized nation, such as India is, in forced subjection, and the duty of this country to sympathize with the Indian people in their struggle for freedom, and to extend to them such moral support as may lie in our power. At the close of his address, he introduced into the House the following Concurrent Resolution, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and ordered to be printed, with the expectation that later it would come before both Houses of Congress.

Concurrent Resolution : "Whereas all just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed ; and

"Whereas the atrocities committed in India by British soldiers and officers, which have met the approval of the British officials, has shocked the sense of justice of the American people ; and

"Whereas as a result of the Great War many of the heretofore oppressed peoples of the world are being recognized by the United States as they seek to govern themselves ; and

"Whereas the American people believe the same rules of self-determination should apply to peoples who are subjected by force to the Government of Great Britain that are applied to the other nations that have sought self-determination and are encouraged by the United States ; and

"Whereas the Government of Great Britain, which now controls India and governs it by force without the consent of its people, has tried to make it appear by its propaganda that it has given, or is giving, so-called 'home rule' to India, which is substantially the same brand of home rule which has always been given by master nation to the slave nations :

"Therefore be it resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), that it is the duty of the Government of the United States to carry out the will of the people to give such recognition without intervention to the people of India who are

struggling for self-determination, as will assist them in their efforts for self-government."

Though the American Senate and House are now wedded to the policy of "keeping mum," yet nobody can deny that the great mass of American people are at heart sympathetic to our aspirations. The main question that disturbs our American friends is whether India will obtain freedom through violence or non-violence and that is of course an important question to which frank reply is necessary.

Violence or Non-violence : "Liberty will not descend to a people. A people must raise themselves to liberty. It is a blessing that must be earned before it can be enjoyed," is the British sermon chiseled over the portal of one of the secretariat mansions in New Delhi, and India is now prepared to pay the price for liberty. The test is coming nearer and nearer and thousands of people have resolved to die rather than to lead the present life of misery and slavery. Though by temperament we Indians are peace-loving and non-violent, yet it should not be thought that 350 million people are wedded forever to non-violence. Even Gandhi the apostle of non-violence has repeatedly declared, "I prefer violence to cowardice."

And after all violence is the only weapon to punish the evil-doer and should not be dreaded or despised, when used for a right cause. Non-violence is a good weapon to fight friends and beloved ones, because then you enjoy the suffering, but the tyrant is a tyrant and to him the sufferings of his victim mean nothing. Hence my answer is very simple. We will welcome freedom if it can come to us without shedding a drop of blood, but if Britain goads us the other way we will not hesitate to use the weapon that she has used to keep us in subjugation. The choice lies with the oppressor and not the oppressed.

The Gita Answers : "The conception of a republic will go on living for many thousands of years to come. Tyranny, injustice,

the enslavement of labour by capital, the enslavement of one race by another, are all things which involve bloodshed and violence. When such men as Garibaldi, Danton, Cromwell, Washington, Lincoln *resorted to warfare to do away with bloody systems, history* has not written them down as unmitigated monsters. Their way might not have been the best way, but it was better than no way at all. The world had to move forward and they helped it to move forward. That too is the lesson of the Gita", wrote an American writer and asked :

"To-day we are looking to India. Can India take up the work of these men whose illustrious names have been mentioned? Can India carry forward the sacred torch? Will India really qualify herself for carrying forward the sacred torch? Will she strip herself naked and challenge the tyrant to do battle with her ?"

My answer to the above question is "Yes, India is now ready to challenge the tyrant, since in the words of the Gita (the Hindu Bible) the soul is immortal :

"He is not born nor doth he die ;
Nor having been, ceaseth any more to be :
Unborn perpetual eternal and ancient,
He is not slain when the body is slaughtered.

Weapons cleave him not, nor fire burneth him.
Nor waters wet him nor wind drieth him away.
For certain is death for the born, and certain is birth for the dead ;
Therefore over the inevitable thou grieveth not.

Slain thou wilt obtain heaven, victorious thou wilt enjoy the earth ;
Therefore stand up *Arjuna*, resolute to fight.
Taking as equal pleasure and pain, gain and loss, victory and defeat,
Gird thee for the battle ; thou shalt not incur sin !"

CHAPTER II

GLORIOUS IND

"If it is asserted that Paradise is in India,
Be not surprised, because Paradise itself is not comparable to it."

—The historian Abdullah in the 14th Century.

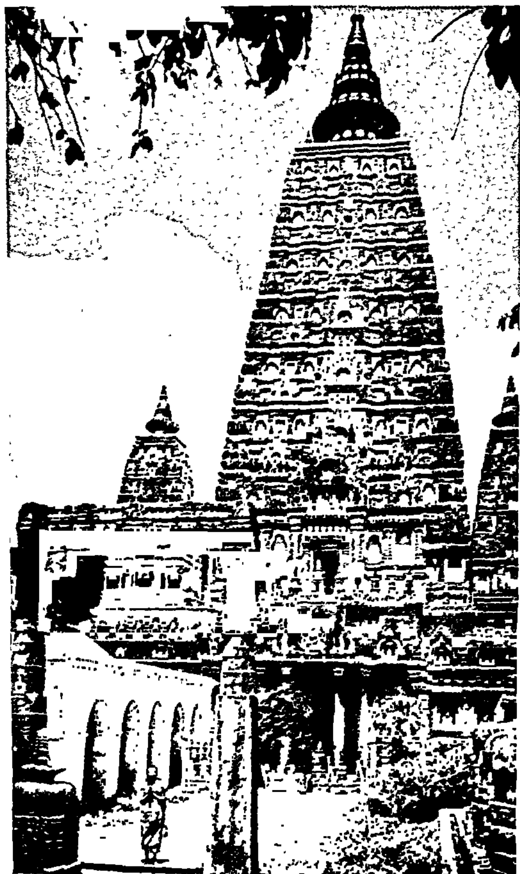
Today Mayos and Churchills may try to ridicule India in the eyes of the world, but there was a time when India occupied the foremost place in the world.

The historians tell us that our ancestors were "A poetic people, a musical race" and that the "Hindus were a nation of philosophers." "In science they were as acute and diligent as ever." "Art seems to have exhausted itself in India." "The Hindu is the parent of literature and the theology of the world." The national character of the ancient Hindus as regards truthfulness, chivalry and honour was unrivalled ; their colonies filled the world, their kings "are still worshipped as the gods of the sea."

"The ancient Hindus, in every feature of national life, were in the first rank. Take whatever department of human activity you like, you will find the ancient Hindus eminent in it, and occupying a foremost place. This is more than what can be said of any other nation. You may find a nation great in arms or commerce ; you may find a people eminent in philosophy, in poetry, in science or in arts ; you may find a race great politically but not equally so morally and intellectually. But you do not find a race which was or is pre-eminent in so many departments of human activity as the ancient Hindus."

History's Verdict : A glimpse of those mighty men and their

Note. Most of the opinions reproduced in this chapter are quoted from *Hindu Superiority* which gives a vivid picture of ancient India.



BUDDHA-GAYA TEMPLE

mighty achievements is all that is possible now—centuries of neglect followed by centuries of cruel repression having destroyed all but the vestiges of the splendid achievements bequeathed by them to posterity.

As slaves, we of present-day India have no right to sing praises of our forefathers and therefore, I will let the reader see the verdict of the world's foremost scholars and historians and leave it to the reader as to whether India civilized the British or Britain civilized us.

A German Scholar's Tribute: "If I were to look over the whole world to find out the country most richly endowed with all the wealth, power, and beauty that nature can bestow, in some parts a very paradise on earth—I should point to India. If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life, and has found solutions of some of them which well deserve the attention even of those who have studied Plato and Kant—I should point to India. And if I were to ask myself from what literature we here in Europe—we who have been nurtured almost exclusively on the thoughts of the Greeks and the Romans, and of one Semitic race, the Jewish—may draw that corrective which is most wanted in order to make our inner life more perfect, more comprehensive, more universal, in fact more truly human, a life not for this only, but a transfigured and eternal life, again I should point to India."—Professor Max Muller's *India: What can it teach us?* p.8.

Fountain of Knowledge: "India is the source from which not only the rest of Asia but the whole Western World derived their knowledge and their religion."—Professor Heeren's *Historical Researches*, Vol. II, p. 45.

Most Remarkable Country: Mr. Murray says : "It (India) has always appeared to the imagination of the Western World adorned

with whatever is most splendid and gorgeous; glittering, as it were, with gold and gems, and redolent of fragrant and delicious odours. Though there be in these magnificent conceptions something romantic and illusory, still India forms unquestionably one of the most remarkable regions that exist on the surface of the globe. The varied grandeur of its scenery and the rich productions of its soil are scarcely equalled in any other country."—Murray's *History of India*. p. 1.

No other Paradise: The historian, Adbullah Wassaf, writing in the 14th century A. D. says of India in his history, *Tazjiyat ul Amsar*: "India, according to the concurrent opinion of all writers, is the most agreeable abode on earth and the most pleasant quarter of the world. Its dust is purer than air and its air is purer than purity itself: Its delightful plains resemble the garden of paradise.

If it is asserted that Paradise is in India,
Be not surprised, because paradise itself is not comparable to it."

—Elliot's *History of India* Vol. III pp. 28 and 29.

Two English Views : Sir Thomas Munro, when asked if he thought the civilization of the Hindus would be promoted by trade with England being thrown open, replied: "I do not exactly understand what is meant by the 'civilization of the Hindus.' In the knowledge of the theory and practice of good government and in an education which, by banishing prejudice and superstition, opens the mind to receive instructions of every kind, they are inferior to Europeans. But if a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, a capacity to produce whatever can contribute to either luxury or convenience, schools established in every village for teaching reading, writing and arithmetic, the general practice of hospitality and charity amongst each other, and, above all, a treatment of the female sex, full of confidence, respect and delicacy, are among the signs which denote a civilized

people, then the Hindus are not inferior to the nations of Europe."

. Abbe Dubois says: "The Hindus are not in want of improvement in the discharge of social duties amongst themselves."

Sir John Malcolm said: "The Hindu inhabitants are a race of men, generally speaking, not more distinguished by their lofty stature and robust frame, than they are for some of the finest qualities of the mind—they are brave, generous, humane, and their truth is as remarkable as their courage." At a subsequent examination, he said, with respect to the feeling of honour : "I have known innumerable instances of its being carried to a pitch that would be considered in England more fit for the page of a romance than a history. With regard to their fidelity, I think as far as my knowledge extends, there is, generally speaking, no race of men more to be trusted."

Land of Treasures: "India is an epitome of the whole world, and possesses all the leading features of other lands—the most bewitching scenery, the most fertile soil, the most dense forests, the highest mountains, some of the biggest rivers, and intensely cold seasons—may be found along with arid, treeless deserts, sandy waterless plains, and the hottest days. To a student of humanity or of Nature, India even now is most picturesque ; and is the most interesting whether it be language, or religion, or mythology, or philosophy, whether it be laws or customs, primitive art or primitive science,—everywhere you have to go to India, whether you like it or not, because some of the most valuable and most instructive materials in the history of man are treasured up in India only."—Chambers' *Encyclopedia*, p. 337.

Colonel Tod's Testimony: Colonel Tod asks : "Where can we look for sages like those whose systems of philosophy were the prototypes of those of Greece: to whose works Plato, Thales and Pythagoras were disciples? Where shall we find astronomers whose knowledge of planetary system yet excites wonder in Europe as well as the architects and sculptors whose works claim

our admiration, and the musicians who could make the mind oscillate from joy to sorrow, from tears to smiles, with the change of modes and varied intonation?"—Tod's *Rajasthan* pp. 608 and 609.

The *Calcutta Review* for December 1861 says: "That the Hindus were in former times a commercial people we have every reason to believe—the labours of the Indian loom have been universally celebrated, silk has been fabricated immemorially by the Hindus. We are also told by the Grecian writers that the Indians were the wisest of nations, and in metaphysical wisdom they were certainly eminent; in astronomy and mathematics they were equally well versed; this is the race, whom Dionysius records—

'First assayed the deep,
'And wafted merchandise to coasts unknown,
'Those who digested first the starry choir,
'Their motions marked, and called them by their names."

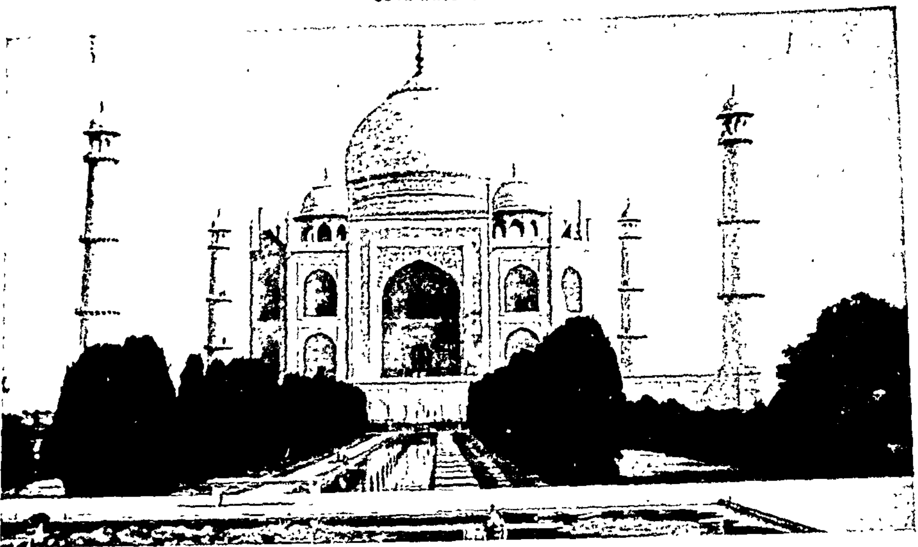
"Hindustan has from the earliest ages been celebrated as one of the most highly-favoured countries on the globe, and as abounding in the choicest productions both of Nature and Art."

—*Encyclopedia Britannica*, p. 446.

Mons. Pierre Loti, the great Frenchman, writing to the President of the Comite France-Hindou, thus expresses his veneration for India: "And now I salute thee with awe, with veneration and wonder, ancient India of whom I am the adept, the India of the highest splendours of art and philosophy . . . May thy awakening astonish that Occident, decadent, mean, daily dwindling, slayer of gods, slayer of souls, which yet bows down still, ancient India, before the prodigies of thy primordial conceptions."

The *Edinburgh Review*, for October 1872, says: "The Hindu is the most ancient nation of which we have valuable remains, and has been surpassed by none in refinement and civilization. Though the utmost pitch of refinement to which it ever arrived preceded in time the dawn of civilization in any other nation of

LOVE IMMORTALISED



THE TAJ MAHAL (AGRA)

which we have even the name in history. The further our literary inquiries are extended here, the more vast and stupendous is the scene which opens to us."

Lovers of Truth : Abul Fazal says : "The Hindus are admirers of truth and of unbounded fidelity in all their dealings."—Tod's *Rajasthan* p. 643.

"Two hundred years ago you did not need to give written promise for a trust placed in your hands. Your immense banking business three centuries ago was carried on by word of mouth. So much so that Phillimore and later writers speaking of the Indians said that they were a peculiarly truthful people. Truth was specifically an Indian virtue."

Colonel Sleeman, who had better and more numerous opportunities of knowing the Hindu character than most Europeans, assures us "that falsehood or lying between members of the same village is almost unknown." He adds : "I have had before me hundreds of cases in which a man's property, liberty and life depended upon his telling a lie and he has refused to tell it."

Professor Max Muller says : "It was love of truth that struck all the people who came in contact with India, as the prominent feature in the national character of its inhabitants. No one ever accused them of falsehood. There must surely be some ground for this, for it is not a remark that is frequently made by travellers in foreign countries even in our time, that their inhabitants invariably speak the truth. Read the accounts of English travellers in France, and you will find very little said about French honesty and veracity."

"Megasthenes observed with admiration the absence of slavery in India, the chastity of the women, and the courage of the men. In valour they excelled all other Asiatics, sober and industrious, good farmers and skilful artizans, they scarcely ever had recourse to a lawsuit, and lived peaceably under their native chiefs."

—Hunter's *Gazeteer*, "*India*" p. 266.

That acute observer, the historian Abul Fazal says : "The

Hindus are religious, affable, courteous to strangers, cheerful, enamoured of knowledge, lovers of justice, able in business, grateful, admirers of truth, and of unbounded fidelity in all their dealings." Colonel Dixon dilates upon "their fidelity, truthfulness, honesty, their determined valour, their simple loyalty, and an extreme and almost touching devotion when put upon their honour."

"The Indians," says Neibuhr, "are really the most tolerant nation in the world." He also says that "they are gentle, virtuous, laborious, and that, perhaps of all men, they are the ones who seek to injure their fellow beings the least."

Mr. Eliphinstone says: "It is remarkable that in the Hindu dramas there is not a trace of servility in the behaviour of other characters to the king."—*History of India*, p. 243.

No Thieves in India: Thefts were practically unknown in ancient India and people lived in perfect safety.

Starbo says: "The Hindus are so honest as neither to require locks to their doors nor writings to bind their agreements."

—*Starbo Lib.* XV p. 448.

Arrian (in the second century), the pupil of Epictetus, said that "no Indian was ever known to tell an untruth."

Police Unwanted: Some readers might think that the statement that Indians had no locks to their doors a mere tale but I have personally seen in Western Tibet (now under the regime of Kashmir State) that theft is quite unknown and there are no police to guard the merchants in the ancient Capital of Western Tibet—Leh, which is one of the biggest markets for Central Asian trade. I asked the Governor of the Province as to why he had no police in such a large commercial city and the reply he gave was: "There is no need for police. If we appoint policemen, crime is sure to crop up."

What a sad comment on the British Indian police, whose achievements have been related in another chapter!

Chinese View : Hioven-thsang, the most famous of the Chinese travellers, says : "The Indians are distinguished by the straightforwardness and honesty of their character. With regard to riches, they never take anything unjustly : with regard to justice, they make even excessive concessions . . . . straightforwardness is the leading feature of their administration.'"—Vol. II p. 83.

- Khang-thai, the Chinese ambassador to Siam, says that Su-We, a relative of Fauchen, King of Siam, who came to India about 231 A.D., on his return reported to the king that "the Indians are straightforward and honest,"—Max Muller's *India* p. 55.

"In the fourth century, Friar Jordanuf tells us that the people of India are true in speech and eminent in justice."

Fei-tu, the ambassador of the Chinese Emperor Uangti to India in 605 A.D., among other things points out as peculiar to the Hindus that "they believe in solemn oaths."

Idrisi, in his *Geography* (written in the 11th century), says : "The Indians are naturally inclined to justice, and never depart from it in their actions. Their good faith, honesty and fidelity to their engagements are well known, and they are so famous for these qualities that people flock to their country from every side."

In the thirteenth century, Shams-ud-din Abu Abdullah quotes the following judgment of Bedi-ezr Zeman : "The Indians are innumerable, like grains of sand, free from deceit and violence. They fear neither death nor life."—*India* by Max Muller p. 275.

Marco Polo (thirteenth century) says : "You must know that these Brahmins are the best merchants in the world and the most truthful, for they would not tell a lie for anything on earth."

"I have been repeatedly told by English merchants that commercial honour stands higher in India than in any other country, and that a dishonoured bill is hardly known there.' —A British Official.

The first Governor-General of India, Warren Hastings, said : "The Hindus are gentle, benevolent, more susceptible of gratitude for kindness shown to them, than prompted to vengeance for wrong

inflicted, and as exempt from the worst propensities of human passion as any people upon the face of the earth. They are faithful, affectionate," etc. (Minutes of evidence before the Committee of both Houses of Parliament, March and April, 1813.)

What is India: "With all its magnitude of extent and the mightiness of its empire it is unequal in its climate, its rapid succession of harvests and the equable temperament of its people. Notwithstanding its vast size, it is cultivated throughout. You cannot accomplish a stage nor indeed travel a kos without meeting with populous towns and flourishing villages, nor without being gladdened by the sight of sweet waters, delightful verdure and enchanting downs. In the autumn and throughout the depth of winter the plains are green and the trees in foliage. During the rainy season which extends from the close of the sun's stay in Gemini to his entry into the sign of Virgo, the elasticity of the atmosphere is enough to transport the most dispirited and lend the vigour of youth to old age. Shall I praise the refulgence of its skies or the marvellous fertility of its soil? Shall I describe the constancy of its inhabitants or record their benevolence of mind? Shall I portray the beauty that charms the heart or sing of purity unstained? Shall I tell of heroic valour or weave romances of their vivacity of intellect and their lore? The inhabitants of this land are religious, affectionate, hospitable, genial and frank. They are fond of scientific pursuits, inclined to austerity of life, seekers after justice, contended, industrious, capable in affairs, loyal, truthful and constant. The true worth of this people shines most in the day of adversity and its soldiers know not retreat from the field. When the day is doubtful, they dismount from their steeds and resolutely put their lives to hazard, accounting the dishonour of flight more terrible than death, while some even disable their horses before entering the fight."—Abul Fazl-I-Allami, the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. 3 pp. 7-8, written in the sixteenth century. Translated by H. S. Jarrett.

Hindu Influence in Cambodia: The following are extracts from an article on Indo-Chinese Civilization in *Current Thought* by Mr. F. C. Andrews.

To the Hindu, who cherishes his ancient culture and traditions, one of the most profoundly interesting countries in the Far East to study is Cambodia, the centre of the Khmer Empire, which once extended its spiritual and temporal sway from the Gulf of Siam up to the Middle Kingdom of China. In the twelfth century of the present era, when Aryan Hinduism in the North of India was receiving one defeat after another at the hands of the rising Mahommedan powers from Central Asia, a Hindu monarch, named Jayavarman VIII, was ruling over this Khmer Empire, which then stretched literally from the Bay of Bengal on one side to the Pacific Ocean on the other. It was divided into sixty self-governing republics, according to the Hindu spiritual genius which always tends towards a diversity within a unity—it was rather a great federation of friendly States under one Emperor than a centralised personal despotism. Jayavarman VIII was truly the Chakravarti of his times in the Far East.

Yet, how little is known of all this in India! How rarely is it even mentioned! What an insignificant place is given to this Hindu expansion in any Indian history! How few, even of educated Indians, reading these words of mine, have ever studied the facts and realized their wonderful meaning! No country has ever treated its own past historical records so carelessly as India!

About eight hundred yeas ago, this great Hindu civilization was one of the chief world-factors in the Far East. It was not built up, in the main, as far as history reveals, by military power, but rather by sheer intellectual genius winning its way among backward peoples and unifying them as they had never been united before.

I had often read in books, how this one vast Hindu civilization in the South East had stretched wider and wider its arms to embrace the races round it. Its direct origin and early history are somewhat obscure, but it probably reached the height of its fame

and influence at the time I have mentioned, about 1100 A.D. many centuries after the first Hindus had settled in the country and made their influence felt.

It is not quite certain from whence these Hindus colonizers came, and how the expansion took place which covered the South of Asia. But the evidence goes to show, that they first sailed along the Eastern Coast of the Bay of Bengal and colonized and civilized as they went. We have very early traces of such settlements in Burma ; then further South in Malaya then in Sumatra; and last of all in Java, Bali and the Celebes.

We must realize that the Hindu civilization was intellectually and artistically paramount in those ages in the East to an unparalleled degree.

Of all the architectural remains in Cambodia, revealing the Indo-Chinese civilization, the greatest undoubtedly is Angkor-Vat, the vast temple ruin in the heart of the city of Angkor, the capital of the Khmer kingdom. The architecture is colossal ; the sculpture and carving are a work of remarkable beauty. There is nothing quite like it in the world, and it may be rightly named, along with the pyramids, as one of the wonders of the world. It stands out along with Borobudur, as one of the two greatest monuments of the Far East.

The whole of Cambodia is still under the influence of Hindu-Buddhist traditions. Hindu ceremonies can be everywhere traced. Hindu festivals are constantly observed, Buddhism is the state religion. But very little now remains of the treasures of all this Hindu civilization in the soul of this wonderful people except a gentleness of manners, a dignity of bearing, and a perfect beauty of Aryan feature in men and women alike. These old majestic buildings, which Hindu architects built, and the culture that lies behind them, are all that can now be seen of one of the noblest empires of the East. Yet still beauty lingers, even in the present state of fallen greatness.

Yet one of the saddest parts of the story still remains to be told. The Khmers now appear to be almost a dying race. They

seem to have lost their ancient spirit of unconquerable intellectual strength. They have become dull and lifeless, and have lost even the desire to live.

It is difficult to read a passage like this without a throb of emotion. The thought of all that vanished greatness, so noble, so artistic, so spiritual, like some perfect flower of human culture,—makes it impossible to believe that all of it can have passed away, never to return in other forms. The theory of reincarnation, if it is true, must surely have its meaning for kingdoms and peoples, as well as for individuals.

But while I have read this passage from a book of travels over and over again, and pondered over its spiritual meaning, I have only become the more certain that from India itself must go out to Cambodia and to Bali and to other centres, where Hinduism is not really dead, but only moribund, a new reviving massage. It is, to me, a matter of intense and earnest longing, that some at least of the treasures of religious wisdom, and devotion stored up in India should reach this Hindu race in its day of adversity and save it from extinction,—just as a drowning man may be saved from death even at the last moment of exhaustion by a timely outstretched hand. With the new facilities of travel, the way is more easy to tread than it was of old when monks and sannyasis crossed the high Pamirs and snow-girt passes of the Karakoram on foot, and faced the terrors of the typhoon in open boats in order to carry forward from India their spiritual message to enrich mankind. If any word that I have written in this article, or in those that I have been writing from time to time in *Current Thought* should inspire any Hindu devotee to make a pilgrimage abroad to these old centres of the Hindu faith, I shall be amply rewarded. Knowing well how deep, in the heart, the tradition of the ancient faith of Hinduism is stored, I do not cease to hope that dying Cambodia may one day see a small band of religious enthusiasts from India who may fan once more into a flame the still-flickering light of Hindu culture in this far-off land.

India and the World: Mr. Hemendra K. Rakshit says in the *Vedic Magazine*: "India is not what the Western Indologists, save a few, would have you imagine. An impartial evaluation of India's cultural history—her industry, commerce, science, politics, art and philosophy—will yield a record worthy of any nation.

A rapid glance at the comparative political history of Europe and India until 1789 will show a parallel development of events, even slightly in favor of India. Basing his conclusion on data acceptable to the methodology of historical researches in Europe and America, Professor B. K. Sarkar in his book *The Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus*, finds that ancient and medieval India passed through the same institutional and political experiences such as city-states, republics, jury system, despotism of kings, which Greece and Rome and medieval Europe and other countries of Asia have gone through. The people of India even enjoyed the right to fine in case of the elected officials of the rural commune."

A Unique Civilization: Prof. J. Takakusu writes in *The Young East*: "No civilization is so rich as the Indian in spiritual elements. Accordingly, perhaps it is best to call it a spiritual civilization. In this regard, Indian civilization is unique, for any other civilization would disappear if deprived of its form or expressions in tangible objects. Indian civilization, however, retains its vitality, no matter if the country is in ruin, for it is spiritual, intangible and indestructible."

"Many Indians are no better than mendicants as far as their personal appearance goes. They are shabbily clad, live from hand to mouth and know nothing about the present world and modern things. But spiritually they are found to be superior men. In conversing with some beggars I met in the Himalayan mountains, during my journey in India, I was astonished to find them philosophers and thinkers well versed in the philosophy of Upnishads and the poetry of the Vedas. When our conversation turned to spiritual subjects they talked freely and fluently, showing they

were quite at home with philosophy, metaphysics and religion.

"Indians long for such a spiritual civilization and live in a world of the ideal. From the hoary ages of the Vedas and Upanishads, from the remote period of Guatama, up to the present time of Tagore, all through the centuries, this spiritual civilization is found running in a continuous stream, holding sway over the minds of the Indian people. Both Gandhi and Tagore are typical products of this civilization, the former an idealist reformer, who aims at putting his ideals into effect, and the latter a poet of nature, who dreams of idealizing realities. India is under foreign rule and the Indian people can show no dazzling evidence of material civilization, but she retains her unique spiritual civilization, which will survive though all other civilization, such as present-day Europe and America, may decay. Beyond question, India offers to the world a civilization which no thinker, no philosopher, no religionist, no sociologist, can do without trying to probe into and unlock its mysteries."

India Has A Message: I must conclude this chapter with a short statement by the world-renowned poet, Tagore, on the future of Indian culture and its contribution to the world:—

The poet says: "India has her renaissance. She is preparing to make her contribution to the world of the future. In the past she produced a great culture, and in the present she has an equally important contribution to make to the culture of the New World which is emerging from the wreckage of the Old."

CHAPTER III

"GOD'S CHOSEN PEOPLE"

"We British and the English in particular, have a very strong sense of 'colour' and race; and before the present chapters of the 'World History' are written we shall pay dearly for this national characteristic."

—The Hon. J. M. Kenworthy M. P.

"Every individual Englishman in India, be he a planter, station-master, shop-assistant, engine-driver, dentist, hotel-keeper or a headclerk of a merchant office, whatever may be his character, culture and capacity, cannot help being strongly obsessed by a sense of almost personal ownership with regard to India."—Dr. Tagore

I am great admirer of the many virtues of the great British race. Their patriotism, sense of discipline, devotion to their ruler and business talents have made them a great power ; and we have also absorbed some of their virtues, for which we are certainly grateful to them. I can state without any fear of contradiction that the Indian people as a whole, have no malice or ill-will against Englishmen as a race. Our grievance is against that class of "arrogant ; hypocritical, barbarous despots," who regard themselves as "God's Chosen People" and pretend to be on a "mission of shooting civilisation" among us by bullets and bayonets.

The following two dozen stories about this class of "Heaven Born People" will provide the background for the coming revolution in India.

(1) "Of all the Westren nations, the English are the least capable of appreciating the qualities of Indian civilisation. Of all the races they are the least assimilable. They carry to India all their own habits and ways of life; squatting, as it were in

armed camps; spending as in exile twenty or twenty-five years and returning, sending out new men to take their place, equally imbued with English ideals and habits, equally unassimilable. Facility of communication has only emphasized and strengthened this attitude. The Englishman sends his children home to be educated; commonly his wife will spend at least half her time at home, he himself returns every few years; his centre is not India, but England. Between him and the Indian the gulf is impassable." (Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson well-known English thinker)

(2) In his *Studies of Indian Life and Sentiment*, Sir Bampfylde Fuller, the Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal who resigned when Lord Morley was the Secretary of State says:

"Young British officials go out to India most imperfectly equipped for their responsibilities. They learn no law worth the name, little Indian history, no political economy, and gain smattering of one Indian vernacular. In regard to other branches of the service, matters are still more unsatisfactory. Young men, who are to be police officers, are sent out with no training whatever, though for the proper discharge of their duties an intimate acquaintance with Indian life and ideas is essential. They land in India in absolute ignorance of the language. So also with forest officers, medical officers, engineers, and (still more surprising) educational officers. It is hardly too much to say that this is an insult to the intelligence of the country."

(3) Mr. H. M. Hyndman, the well-known British leader who always took a keen interest in Indian affairs, wrote:

"The British who come to India to rule it have been brought up and educated in accordance with methods far remote from, and as irreconcilable with, Asiatic ideas as it is possible for them to be. In their work and in their pleasure they keep as aloof as possible from the people they govern. The head of the government who himself is brought out fresh from Europe and entirely ignorant of India, does not remain in office more than

five years, thus leaving as soon as he begins to get a little knowledge. His subordinates return 'home' frequently for their holidays, and go back to England permanently, to live on a considerable pension paid by India after their term of service is completed. The longer this reign of well meaning but unsympathetic carpet baggers continues, the less intimate do their general relations with the Indian people become. The colour and race prejudices which were only slight at the beginning of English dominance, now become stronger and stronger every year. In India itself, men of ancient lineage, besides which the descent of the oldest European aristocracy is a mushroom growth, are considered in the leading cities, as well as on the railways, unfit to associate on equal terms with the young white bureaucrats just arrived in the country."

(4) Mr. Hyndman quotes a prominent British official in India as saying: "It is sadly true that the Englishmen in India live totally estranged from the people. This estrangement is partly unavoidable being the result of national customs, language and caste and largely it is contempt, growing out of ignorance. This tendency to aloofness is increasing."

(5) Speaking of the ignorance of India seen in many government officials, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald says: "I have met men in the Indian Civil Service who had been there for a score of years. They knew few Indians, they had rarely discussed public affairs with them, they could not answer accurately some of the most elementary questions about Indian life, their opinions on current affairs were obviously the parrot repetitions of the club talk or newspaper statements. In fact, they were as separate from India as I am at home in London, and took their opinions of India in an even more second-hand way than I had taken mine before I ever set foot on Indian soil."

Mr. Macdonald quotes Lord Curzon as saying that in former days the assumption of everybody who went to India to take

part in the government was that he must learn what languages were necessary to enable him to speak with the people. "But the arrogance of these modern days assumes that is quite unnecessary. The number of officers now who speak the vernaculars with any facility is much smaller than fifty or even twenty-five years ago, and the number devoting themselves to anything like a serious study of the literature of the country is diminishing year by year."

(6) *Arrogant Englishmen :* In *The Bookman* of February, 1926, an English man of letters (Mr. Aldous Huxley) gives the following description of the arrogance and egotism of his countrymen who are ruling India :

"A young man goes out from a London suburb to take up a clerkship in the Indian Civil Service. He finds himself a member of a small ruling community ; he has slavish servants to order about, dark-skinned subordinates to whom it is right and proper to be rude. Three hundred and twenty million Indian surround him ; he feels incomparably superior to them all, from the coolie to the Maharaja, from the untouchable to the throughbred Brahman, from the illiterate peasant to the holders of half a dozen degrees from European universities. He may be illbred, stupid, poorly educated ; no matter. His skin is white. Superiority in India is a question of epidermis."

(7) *He Feels Ashamed :* Mr. George Lansbury, late Editor of the *London Daily Herald,* said in a speech in Essex Hall, December 11, 1920 : "There are more than three hundred million people in India ; there are forty million of us English in the British Isles. We claim to know what is good for those people better than they do themselves. Was there ever impudence more colossal ? Because our skin happens to be white we claim more brains than those whose skin has been browned by the sun. Whenever I look at Indians I feel ashamed of myself. How can I know more about India than they do ?"

(8) The Rt. Hon. Edwin S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, said in a speech in the House of Commons in July, 1917: "The Government of India is too wooden, too iron, too inelastic, too antediluvian, to be of any use for modern purposes. The Indian Government is indefensible."

(9) *Ignorant Rulers:* Sir Louis Mallet, when Under-Secretary of State for India, was reported as saying: "Nothing but the fact that the present system of government in India is almost secure from all independent and intelligent criticism has enabled it so long to survive."

Even the Viceroys, as a rule, know no Indian language when they come to India, and seldom during their stay do they acquire anything more than the merest smattering of any. Such contact with the people as they have is mostly second-hand, through English subordinates or through Indians who speak English.

(10) John Bright in a speech in the Parliament said: "The Governor-General of India (the Viceroy) goes out knowing little or nothing of India. I know exactly what he does when he is appointed. He shuts himself up to study the first volume of Mr. Mill's *History of India*, and reads through this laborious work without nearly so much effect in making him a good Governor-General as a man might ignorantly suppose. He goes to India, a land of twenty nations, speaking twenty languages. He knows nothing of these nations, and he has not a glimmer of the grammar and pronunciation or meaning of these languages . . . . He is surrounded by an official circle, he breathes an official air, and everything is dim and dark beyond it. You lay duties upon him which are utterly beyond the mental and bodily strength of any man who ever existed, and which he therefore cannot perform . . . . He has a power omnipotent to crush everything that is good. If he so wishes, he can overbear and overrule whatever is proposed for the welfare of India, while as to doing anything that is good, I could show that with regard to the vast countries over which

he rules, he is really almost powerless to effect anything that those countries require . . . . I do not know at this moment and never have known, a man competent to govern India ; and if any man says he is competent, he sets himself up as of much higher value than those who are acquainted with him are likely to set him."

This from John Bright, a man as careful in his speech and as just in his judgments as England ever knew.

(11) *The Ignorant Viceroy*: Here is an interesting story which reveals the utter ignorance of British Governor-General about the condition in India.

"His Excellency next asked us what we had specially observed about the country and its people.

"We spoke of our investigations in the villages, and referred to the economic conditions and the 'starved' peasantry."

"Starved ! What do you mean ?' asked the Viceroy. We said : 'In the United Provinces, around Allahabad and elsewhere, a state of famine exists. We found villagers in one place living on berries, that were really injurious to health.'

"There is no famine anywhere in India,' said the Viceroy. 'When famine exists it is reported to me and a state of famine is required by law to be proclaimed. I have heared nothing about the condition you report. Strange that you should have come to India to find famine when my officers do not report its existence.'

"We could only say that we had seen with our own eyes the conditions we described, and heard for ourselves, first hand, from the peasantry about their plight." (*British Delegation Report*).

(12) *Making Life Cheap*: "The sordid history of a coolie woman of the name of Sakhrumani who died from the effects of a brutal assault committed on her by a white planter has been public property and is by no means an isolated case. Nor is the case of one Dasarath an isolated case of assault upon a worker,

who ; it was alleged, died because his spleen, according to one report, 'automatically gave way at the gentle touch of a European planter.' The last ·case that I should like to mention is that of a coolie who in 1928 was brutally assaulted by a planter. The case was filed in the court of the Deputy Commissioner, the coolie having been beaten and robbed of his property and cash and driven out of the garden, whereas his wife was not allowed to leave the graden. This coolie was given shelter by the representative of the Trades Union Congress. The case was posted for the 3rd of September 1928 for trial. On the 1st of September 1928, the representative of the Trades Union Congress was kiddnapped, and as the coolie was too ill to move as a result of the assault upon him, he was unable to attend the court. In his absence the case was dismissed. The next day an application for revival was made under law but was rejected."—(*Coolie*—Vol II p. 13.)

(13) *Murder for An Umbrella* : Here is the account of a murder committed by a European, named Quinn, the victim as usual being a native. Quinn went up to Jamalpore with the object of obtaining employment in the Locomotive Department. In the evening on Saturday before last, he had placed his umbrella on a barrier on the Jamalpore Station platform, and kept walking about. A *Bhistee*, finding the umbrella remaining there without a visible owner, took it up. Quinn ran up to the man and demanded the return of his umbrella in English. The *Bhistee* could not understand him, and proceeded on with the umbrella, which he thought belonged to some native 3rd class passenger. Thereupon Quinn struck the man in the face and the latter fell down senseless. He was removed to the hospital, where he died by midnight. The case has been taken up by Mr. O'Reily, Deputy Magistrate of Monghyr. Quinn is a fresh arrival from England, and the first thing he does on reaching the country is to rupture a spleen. (Reprinted from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of June, 1886).

(14) *The White Mogul:* All the pomp and ceremony attaching to visits and movements of Governors and Viceroys do not, as is officially believed, add to the esteem in which Indians hold British power. Educated Indians resent it. Sometimes attention to official convenience and prestige reaches ridiculous limits. To give instances:

Mr. Jadhav, an ex-Minister of Bombay and a member of the Legislative Assembly, pointed out, in the Legislature, at question time on the 21st September, 1932, that "motor traffic was stopped from 5 to 9 in the morning," and inquired whether the Home Member thought that "four hours is the least possible delay?"

References had been made the same day to stoppage of traffic on roads when H. E. the Viceroy was travelling on the Simla-Kalka Road, and to the shutting up of Mr. Ghuznavi and half a dozen other members of the Assembly in a waiting room for several hours, that another member was held up on the road for an hour and three-quarters, and that still another member of the Assembly was ordered away from the platform by the police into the waiting room at Kalka Station and was locked up there.

The answer to all this was that the Home Member had heard of it for the first time, that the Government had a special responsibility to protect the Viceroy, and that every effort "is made to cause the least possible inconvenience to the public."

(15) *25 Lives Offered:* A Divisional Traffic Superintendent of Railways (who must remain nameless) told us that when the Viceroy is known to be travelling by train, it is customary for the railway authorities to round up gangs of villagers and station them as guards along the railway track. He said: "We put hundreds of them on this job; just drag them of their land or order the headman to do so, and make them do sentry-go. We never know just when the train is coming through. That is a secret, of course for obvious reasons. So these villagers are kept on the go for many hours, Some of them are malarial and consequently drowsy. Others just go to sleep at night be-

cause they are tired. When the Viceroy's train came through my district last time about twenty-three coolies were decapitated by the trains—the Viceroy's and others."

"While this report was in preparation, two railway servants were found cut to pieces near Delhi after the Viceroy's train had passed. First described as a 'mystery,' the tregedy was subsequently officially accounted for by the fact that as 'guards' over the line they were drawn in on the rails by suction and so met their death"—*British Delegation Report*.

(16) *Outcasts of Empire*: While some Englishmen talk of "Emire Brotherhood" for India, Indians are regarded as outcasts even in England, what to talk of colonies.

The following note from the *Daily Telegraph* of London shows how Indians are looked down upon even in England :—

"The Southern Railway is refusing to issue to coloured persons special tickets to include fare and admission to the Lagoon Swimming Pool, Orpington."

An official of the railway company stated to a representative of the *Daily Telegraph* recently that the company was acting on the request of the proprietors of the swimming pool, with whom it had an arrangement for the issue of the tickets.

The manager of the Lagoon explained that ever since the pool was opened three years ago it had been the settled policy to refuse admission to coloured people. About a month ago some Indian students came from London and were turned away.

It was only right that coloured people should be told about the ban before they started on a 15 miles' journey. That was why the railway company had been requested to make it known that the special tickets would not be issued to them.

The proprietor of one of the biggest open-air swimming pools north of London said, "The question has not arisen so far as we are concerned. If it did however, I think I should do my best to keep coloured people out. I think their presence would be objectionable to many people."

The manager of another big swimming pool on the south side of the river said: "We feel it necessary to refuse admission to people of colour, because of the feelings of women using the pool. When it is a matter of using the same stretch of water for swimming in, the question becomes somewhat different from that of travelling in buses and tramcars with coloured people."

(17) *Empire Brotherhood*: Here is another proof of India being a member of the "Empire Brotherhood": A "subtle prejudice" exists in England against coloured people, stated Miss Una Marson, a coloured delegate from the West Indies in a speech at the British Commonwealth League Conference.

"In America," she said, "they tell you frankly where you are not wanted by means of big signs, and they don't try to hide their feelings. But in England, though the people will never say what they feel about us, you come up against incidents which hurt so much that you cannot talk about them."

As an illustration, Miss Marson described the case of a coloured girl who came to England with her parents to be a nurse. The girl applied to twenty eight hospitals, she said, but they all turned her down.

(18) *Lord Amherst's Story*: Lord Amherst who was the first Governor-General to use Simla as his summer capital is said to have exclaimed in self-admiration—"The Emperor of China and I rule half of the human race and yet we find time to breakfast!" From accounts available of that period, it is difficult however, to ascertain whether the eating of the breakfast or the ruling of the human race was the more difficult task. How the administration was then carried on has been noted down by the wife of a subsequent Governor-General in her diary: "Members of the Council and Heads of Departments hold prayer meetings at each other's houses thrice a week and spend the rest of their time in writing spiteful minutes against each other." A difficult task no doubt, but scarcely half as difficult as the eating of breakfast; for there were 300

servnats and 100 cooks at the Governor-General's residence, all engaged in preparing his lordship's breakfast! Lord Amherst must have been more than a Hercules if he could go through this breakfast and yet find time for anything else!"—*A.B. Patrika.*

(19) *Fifty Years Ago*: Here is a case between a European and a native, and which has resulted in the conviction of the latter. The Madura correspondent of the *Hindu* gives the facts of the case as follows: "Mr. Alexander Munro, Inspector of Schools, Madura, had on the 4th of April last to find fault with his servant for having brought bad water. He was then residing at Kodaikanal where the supply of water is scanty and has to be obtained from a distant place. Mr. Munro, it appears, is in the habit of ill-treating his servants, and while he was in the northern circars (districts), a complaint of ill-treatment was made to a court of justice although it was subsequently hushed up. In the case under notice Mr. Munro appears to have exceeded mere abuse in expressing his disapproval of his servant's conduct. The servant said that he would leave his service and wanted the arrears of his pay. Thereupon harsh words seem to have been exchanged which, soon resulting in blows, the learned Inspector of Schools and his servant rolled one over the other and the former received a blow on his forehead and bled badly. It was easy for a European officer residing on the hills to hand over the man to the police and get him convicted. A complaint was accordingly made to the local magistrate, a native on a salary of a hundred rupees exercising second class powers, on Monday, the 5th April, that is, the next day after the occurrence. The inquiry was conducted in Mr. Munro's house on the plea that Mr. Munro was ill, although that day, I am told, Mr. Munro was seen going about for exercise. The inquiry did not last long, and on Tuesday the accused was sentenced under section 325 I. P. C. to six months' rigorous imprisonment, the maximum punishment which it is in the power of the magistrate to inflict. As the unfortunate prisoner has appealed to the Joint Magistrate, I do not propose to make

comments on the case. But I must call attention of the High Court and the Government to the following facts. Firstly, why was the inquiry so hasty and summary and the sentence passed on the third day ? Secondly, why was the inquiry held in Mr. Munro's house, though the Magistrate had his own Court-house a few yards off, built at a cost of rupees 13,000 ? Where is the medical opinion that the hurt caused by the servant was such as to endanger Mr. Munro's life or the Magistrate's own explanation as to why he treated the offence as a grievous hurt, while the police charged the accused, mind, only under Section 324 ? And fourthly, why was the punishment so heavy and exemplary ?

"Heaven knows we do not mean offence, but the servants of Europeans as a rule abuse their masters in their absence. The feeling between the European and his servant is just like that between the otter and his master, the fisherman. The fisherman makes the otter fish for him, and the otter is always on the alert to give its master a good bite. But amongst Hindus and Mussalmans, the felling between master and servant is oftentimes very tender. The master will oftentimes make great sacrifices for his servant and the servant will oftentimes give his life for his master. The conduct of the native magistrates generally, when sitting in judgment upon a case in which a European is interested, would go to show that it was a great mistake, on the part of Europeans, to raise a hue and cry against the Ilbert Bill. It is always a good policy to make the poor native deputy, saddled with a dozen of children, and with a small pay, to try the case of Europeans. He will naturally look to his birth under such circumstances."—*A. B. Patrika.*

(20) *M.P. Relates Stories :* "The Indian peoples, are, generally speaking, very sensitive, and to them *Izzet*, or self-respect, is of paramount importance. Now, it is a fact, which we may as well recognize, that we British, and the English in particular, are not 'good mixers.' . . . 'We have a very strong sense of *colour* and race ; and before the present chapters of world history are written we shall

pay dearly for this national characteristic.' By far the greatest of our troubles in India, indeed, is social. Deliberate and conscious efforts have now for some decades been made by Government to try and break down this attitude on our part. But I am not sure that it is not too late. And this sort of thing happens repeatedly to this day."—The Hon. J.M. Kenworthy M.P.

(21) The same distinguished Englishman writes :—

"Thus, Sir Pertab Singh, of Indore, a Major-General of the British Army, who had served with great distinction in several campaigns and was of the finest soldiers India has ever produced, could not be taken into the Yacht Club at Bombay. The newest joined British subaltern or midshipman is admitted as a matter of course. This trouble is not confined to India, as every observant traveller knows.

"I do not expect it will be any comfort to my Indian friends, but this complaint of a superiority complex and of aloofness is made against the English by Canadians, Australians, and even our own Welsh, Scots and Irish. The assumption that we are 'God's chosen people' is apt to be irritating. When translated into aloofness, the formation of cliques, and, worst of all, downright snobbishness, it may become unbearable.

"In my early sailoring days we had the same difficulty in Malta. The Union Club, occupying one of the old palaces of the Order of the Knights of Malta, is nominally for naval and military officers, and all senior English civilian officials are admitted as a matter of course. But no Maltese gentleman could be made a member of the Club or even allowed across the threshold, even those holding the King's Commission in the Regular Army, including members of the Maltese nobility ! These things may sound like trifles ; but in the case of Malta, when I was serving in the Mediterranean Fleet, so much dissatisfaction was caused by yet another of these incidents that the Governor, the Admiral, and the General in command of the troops put their heads together and made a great effort to influence the members of the Club to

admit Maltese officers of the Army, who were only a handful in any case, and very likable fellows at that. We had a general meeting of the members to alter the rules; and there was an immediate revolt. The majority of the British officers declared that if this rule were carried they would resign from the Club and form one of their own from which they would again exclude the 'dagoes,' and the Admiral, the General, and the Governor bowed to the storm.

"This social question is one of the most difficult we have to contend with. I am told it has become worse in the last sixty or seventy years. In the old Company days in India the English sahibs had great prestige, but they were few in number and cut off by a three months' sailing-ship voyage from Europe, and communication was limited. They had to make friends with their native-born social equals."

(22) *Two Incidents:* "The modern English public-school system is blamed, but I think unfairly. It is not a class question, but a matter of race. I must relate two incidents that came under my personal observation in India. I was going over that wonderful old Mogul Fort and Palace at Delhi, and just behind me, with another guide, was a small and extremely well-behaved family party of Indians, probably of the well-to-do merchant class from a distant province, seeing this wonderful relic of a Mogul dynasty, just as I was. Presently, pedalling a bicycle, appeared a rosy-faced, pleasant-looking young corporal, wearing the uniform of a famous British regiment. He thought one of the Indian ladies was in his way, and he cursed and swore at her horribly. The Indian party shrank away but took the insult with social disregard and perfect breeding; the corporal pedalled off, in appalling ignorance of the enormity of his offence. He never would have behaved like that in Edinburgh or Portsmouth, and if he had he would probably have been horsewhipped.

"But in India it seemed natural enough to him, or he would not have done it. He may not have been unkind, he was the

typical decent-looking young Englishman temporarily in unioform; but as Bernard Shaw remarks through the mouth of the maid in *St. Joan*, 'Once a people tries to rule over another in a foreign land it becomes overbearingly arrogant and discourteous'."

(23) "The other incident happened at a small port where I was boarding a coasting steamer for a short voyage. An Englishman whom I knew slightly, who had spent all his adult life in India, and who appeared to be a man of a kindly disposition also, was unintentionally jostled by an Indian porter laden with luggage. He kicked him savagely, cursing the while. He could not have done this in England, or he would have got a black eye for his pains, and would have been lucky to avoid being summoned; while if he attempted such an outrage in present-day Japan, the Japanese porter would probably do him a serious injury, and he would certainly be arrested by the Japanese police and lodged in jail. But the Indian porter had no redress; though in theory the Englishman could have been summoned for assault."

(24) *They Bow to Force*: "One more example which I know to be true. An Englishman of the same type was undertaking a night journey by railway train, some years ago, and found an Indian gentleman asleep in the carriage he wished to occupy. Awakening him roughly he told him he must clear out. To his surprise the Indian answered with a string of oaths in the accents of Oxford, and threatened to set about the Englishman. 'Oh, I beg your pardon,' said the Englishman, 'please remain where you are. I am delighted to meet you. I didn't know you were a gentleman.' "—(*India: A Warning*, by the Hon. J.M. Kenworthy, M.P.)

I could relate a dozen stories of a similar nature to prove that English rulers in India bow only to force, but space does not permit their inclusion.

(25) *Said A Christian Knight*: At a speech delivered to the

Wesley Guild, Boksburg Kunwar (Prince) Sir Maharaj Singh said : "We Indians form one per cent of the total population of the Transvaal and you speak of us as a 'menace.' You say that the Indian is a trader. Of course he is. What else can he be? He cannot be an engine driver, or own land as he can in his own country. There is no country in the world—and I have travelled in over 30—where there are so many restrictions against Indians as this great country of yours."

After explaining the untouchability question in India and the great strides made within the last few months in abolishing the evil by the great reform work done by Mahatma Gandhi, the Kunwar went on to say : "We are doing something for our untouchables, and the work which is being done in India will never go back. The reforms being carried out can never be negatived in the future. In India untouchability has a religious sanction. But what have you done in your enlightened and progressive country? I believe I have many sympathisers in this country, but they keep their sympathy hidden. I need open sympathisers. You are too timid, and have to take a little more action, a little more courage and you will find that what was bitter is sweet and what sweet bitter. Teach your children not to despise people because they are five shades darker in colour. Everyone of the religious teachers of the world were men with dark skins,—Moses, Jesus Christ,—I have seen and known the classes from which they were born, Buddha, Confucius who has many million followers in China. What was his colour and what the shape of his eyes? Mohamed and all the great religious teachers were Asiatics, and —forgive me if I say so—were born and lived among the dark-skinned nations, the Asiatics."

We congratulate Kunwar Maharaj Singh for the brave stand that he has taken against the racial exclusiveness of the white people in South-Africa—*Modern Review*, March 1934—(Kunwar Singh is a Christian by birth.)

(26) *Tagore on English Rulers* : Let me conclude this story

that it cannot give up this noble mission. But there are several honest Englishmen who speak the truth directly or indirectly about "England's Noble Mission." And here "the cat is out of the bag." Read the following statements and you will know the whole truth about it.

India the Milch Cow: The late Robert Knight wrote in the now defunct *London Statesman* :—

"But the benefits arising from our empire are far from being confined to the mercantile classes. They are shared by all classes in England, from the peer to the peasant. Viceroyalty and the Subordinate Governorships of the Presidencies are the ambition of the peers of the realm, the chief prizes the Crown has to bestow in the whole breadth of its dominions. Then there are Lieutenant Governorships of territories equal in population and extent to all France ; half a dozen Commissionerships of provinces hardly less important ; a host of Councillorships, Embassies, Collectorships, Magistracies, and Judgeships, with incomes almost princely in amount, and a thousand civil appointments subordinate to them."

"If we turn to the field which India offers to the professions, we find English lawyers filling the highest judgment-seats of the country with jurisdiction over territories half the size of Europe in extent ; English lawyers filling the positions of Administrators-General, Advocates-General, Masters-in-Equity, Legal Remembrancers, Judges of the Small Cause Courts, and crowding the bar of each Presidency for the administration of English law."

So again with the medical profession, in which there are 1000 to 1200 British physicians and surgeons in India labouring with a prospect more or less of a competency. Nor may we avoid mention of the Church, the missionary body, and the colleges which absorb between them a large body of educated gentlemen and provide for the education of their families."

"Again, all we have asserted of the above classes may be

affirmed of the body of gentleman who constitute the officers of the united Indian Army.... The same may be said of the Education Department of the country.... How vast a field is the Indian Empire opening to our engineering and railway enterprise, from the humblest skilled workman it is necessary to employ, to the scientific head that organises it."

Picture of the Future: The author of the pamphlet, *India for Sale: Kashmir Sold*, wrote;

"We do not appear to realise the fact that loss of India will assuredly deprive us of all our Eastern trade, and yet it is easy to see that it will be so; for not only will the marts of India be closed against us if we lose it—as firmly closed against us as are those of Central Asia now,—but besides this, India, with its raw produce and its people skilled in manufactures of hold, will soon, under a system of protection, become a great manufacturing nation,—will soon with its cheap labour and abundant supply of raw material supplant us throughout the East." (Page 4 of *India for Sale*: *Kashmir Sold*, by W. Sedgwick, Major, R.E. Calcutta, W. Newman & Co., Ltd., 1886. Price 12 annas).

What India Means: "Great Britain has in India, a potential market as large and populous as that of Europe, excluding Russia and far wealthier in raw materials. The tropical and subtropical resources need only developed communications to produce riches enough to pay for all the goods which are demanded by a modern India and might be supplied by British workshops--motor vehicles, bicycles, electrical plants, clothing, iron and steel, and a vast quantity of other goods. Even the process of development should create a demand for machinery and rolling stock that in itself might serve as a tonic to British trade.

"It is a land which might be converted into a mighty outlet for British enterprise, a vast market for British goods, and a valuable support to the whole British Empire. Instead of being

rotten with unemployment, Britain might well, with India's co-operation, regain the industrial leadership which was hers till yesterday." (*H. K. Trevaskin*)

To Squeeze Pension: "The European who goes there goes either from a sense of duty so elevated as to be almost beyond the vision of the ordinary man, or to squeeze a modest pension out of the country, or to gather together sufficient spoil in commerce to enable him to keep an odd racehorse or two at home in his old age. That is one of the great problems in India." (*Revolution in India.*)

A Great Disaster: "THE MERELY MATERIAL CONSEQUENCES THAT WOULD FOLLOW TO EVERY HOUSEHOLD IN THE COUNTRY FROM ALLOWING INDIA TO SLIP OUT OF OUR KEEPING SHOULD BE WELL APPRECIATED. They cannot, of course, be tabled out in advance, but their general effect could not fail to be immense.

"CONSIDERING THE ARRAY OF VESTED INTERESTS INVOLVED, THE CAPITAL SUNK, THE NUMBERS DEPENDENT ON ITS RETURNS, THE IMPORTANCE OF INDIAN PRODUCTS TO BRITISH INDUSTRY, THE NUMBERS OF BRITISH EMPLOYED IN THE COUNTRY EITHER OFFICIALLY OR COMMERCIALLY, THE ARMY OF PERSONS ON THIS SIDE — MERCHANTS, SHIPPERS, DISTRIBUTORS, PRODUCERS, AND CONSUMERS — WHOSE PROSPERITY AND CONVENIENCE ARE MORE OR LESS BOUND UP WITH THE INDIAN CONNECTION, IS IT NOT PLAIN THAT THE EFFECT UPON THEM AND BY CONSEQUENCE UPON THE WHOLE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY, OF ANY RUPTURE OF THE TIE WOULD AMOUNT TO A SOCIAL DISASTER OF THE FIRST MAGNITUDE? THE INSTALMENT OF A

HINDU GOVERNMENT IN INDIA, WHETHER IT LED UP TO INTERNAL CHAOS OR TO INTERNAL PASSIVITY WITH EXCLUSIVENESS AGAINST THE OUTER WORLD, WOULD IN FACT BE THE BEGINNING OF A REVOLUTION IN THE MATERIAL CONDITION OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE."—Sir George Chesney's *Unhappy India.*

An American View: Man is at his worst in the role of altruist. It is silly to say that England rules India for the betterment of Indians. British rule in India is a pure exploitation of the helpless millions."—*King Cobra*

Worst Type of Slavery: The English take pride in their traditions of liberty and make a boast that they have taught the A B. Cs. of liberty to Indians, but the facts are that they have subjected us to the worst form of slavery, that is, colonization.

Mr. Harry Harvey has described that British colonization in a nutshell. He says:

"Slavery in its original principles was patriarchal and a custom; and just as some fathers are cruel to their children, so were some slave owners cruel to their slaves. Bul colonization is commerce and has no reverence for tradition or man except in individual instances. Slavery in any form is inhuman. But it seems to me it was less inhuman in the past when it was recognised slavery than in the present when although technically abolished, except in remote corners of the world, it has merely been dissembled and dignified by the term colonization."

To Rule by the Sword: Sir William Joynson-Hicks, said in one of his speeches, "We conquered India by the sword and we propose to maintain it by the sword."

Their Bread and Butter: Sir George Chesney, in his book, *India under Experiment*, practically said that India gave them their

bread and butter ; they could not allow it to go out of their hands.

Why They Love India : Under the caption "Beloved India," Sir Arthur Moore, a former editor of the *Statesman* writing in the *Fortnightly Review* asked "Do we still love India ? Is she worth holding ? Can we hold her, and against whom or what shall we be put to the strain ?" He said, "We came to trade and stayed to rule," but proceeded to add in the same sentence, "and gradually we talked less and less of trade, and more and more our mission to govern India for its good."

Only a few lines below this he unintentionally revealed the inward meaning of this missionary enterprise by saying :

"Moreover, the discharge of this lofty responsibility provided a vast and noble field for the talents of Britons in war and peace. Honourable careers lay open to the products of our schools and universities with posts of the highest dignity as objects of legitimate ambition for those who served India most faithfully. Also an army could be supported, and trained under conditions approximating to active service, without expense to the British taxpayer."

Mark the last six words.

Mr. Moore claimed,

"We loved India more than the Indians."

Why India is ceasing to be "beloved" appears from the following :

"We have now to face the fact that the glamour of governing India for its own good is disappearing, and that the country is becoming more and more unattractive to many Englishmen. There are still honourable careers offered, but their arduousness is more in evidence than their honour. The civil service and the corps of army officers, even though automatically shrinking in numbers, find difficulty in maintaining the standard of British personnel. The railways, and the engineering services generally, despite unemployment at home, find recruitment for technical posts an increasing problem."



"The Chancellor of the Exchequer paid a tribute to the Indian delegates for the extremely helpful way in which they had treated the whole negotiations"—Reuter.

ANCIENT INDIA: THE LAND OF RICHES

PRESENT INDIA: THE AWAKENING OF MASSES

FUTURE INDIA THE LAND OF SELF-SUFFICIENCY

Englishmen's Mercantile Love : That their love is of the mercantile type appears clearly in many a passage of his article. He writes : "Much depends on our answer to the question how much do we love India. What do we get out of India and what do we want ?"

Real love, of which poets have sung, is measured by the sacrifice which the lover makes or is prepared to make at any moment for the beloved—by what the lover can give, including life and all. But Mr. Moore measures his love by what he can get out of India. This is a singular kind of love of which poets have not yet sung.

As an answer to his question, printed above and a commentary on it, the paragraph reproduced below follows it immediately :

"Material wealth and moral satisfaction both weigh in the balance. The pessimist argues plausibly enough, that both are rapidly on the down-grade. The days when Englishmen shook the pagoda tree and picked up the fortune that fell are gone forever. As a field for official careers India is becoming uncongenial, for none but exceptional men can do their best work in the face of a highly popular national movement which represents British officials as brutes and bloodsuckers. The business world is mapped out by limited companies keenly competing with one another and so heavily capitalized as to make the payment of dividends a strenuous task. The importing houses are hit by tariffs, and their goods are subjected to a periodical boycott as well. The European exporter and industrialist in India is naturally exposed to ever-increasing competition of Indians whose wage bills and general over-heads are smaller than his. In the government sphere, then, the pessimist speaks of "the lost Dominion" and according to him we may as well go while the going is moderately good. He foretells that the Indian legislator will inevitably cook the business man's goose for him by predatory legislation."

This great lover of India (Sir Arthur Moore, who had to leave India because a price was fixed on his head) concludes :—

"The Englishmen still love India and it is still worth holding."

A Simple Question: Mr. Charles Edward Russell, an American diplomat and author wrote in an article in *Young.India*, New York :—

"Sad as is the condition of India under British domination, there is one phase of the discussion of the subject that is not without its grim humour. We are told that this domination of India is actually kind, benevolent, maintained by the British 'for India's good'; and that the Indian people like it, are grateful for it ! Ah ! yes ! after 160 years of this sort of benevolence the gratitude of the people is so very great that they are hourly expected to rise and tear their benefactors to pieces ! Is it conceivable that if the Government were really good the people would be incessantly plotting and planning how to get rid of it ? Or that it would be necessary to suppress free speech among them ? Or forbid the right of assembly, or arrest thousands of them without warrant and send them to prison without trial ? Or watch them always with jealous care lest they obtain any kind of weapon ?"

Is there any defender of British rule who can reply to Mr. Russell's question ?

CHAPTER V

BROKEN PLEDGES

" . . . You have not kept faith, and you have treacherously set community against community. You yield nothing to appeal or argument. When the war came and Mrs. Besant started the Home Rule movement we opposed her. She said that 'Britain's difficulty was India's opportunity,' but still having faith in British Government most of us refused to act on her advice when she said it was our one chance to wring concessions from you. Mrs. Besant said then, 'I know my people and you don't.' She was right. This present period in India's history of torture and repression is one that I never believed, before I went through it could possibly come under British rule. We know at last that we have to deal with the brute, and not with a human being of heart and mind."—Pandit Malaviya, in an interview with the British Delegation, October 1932.

"We can substitute new forms of government for present ones, but unless the people become 'the governing classes,' in fact as well as in name, the rotten foundation will show itself by cracks in the superstructure."—Ramsay Macdonald, Ex-Prime Minister of Great Britain.

The whole history of British rule in India has been a history of broken pledges. The British as rulers have a world-wide reputation for making pledges in their hour of crisis and of forgetting them after the crisis is over. The whole world knows how India has fought Britain's battles in China, Africa, Europe, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Afghanistan, Tibet, Burma and all over the globe.

A sum of £113,600,000 was contributed from the Indian revenues to Great Britain during the Great War. In addition India paid £ 33,200,000 for Indian troops overseas. Indians killed in the war were 62,000 with 67,000 wounded. (These figures were given by the Army Secretary in the Indian Diet.)

The British Rewards : And India underwent all these sacrifices, simply because she was promised "Home Rule", but what India got instead was the "Rowlatt Act", a martial law regime and the shooting of 1,200 innocent and unarmed men, women and children at Amritsar a few months after the war had been won. Three thousand others were injured, and hundreds sentenced to life-long imprisonment. They included boys of the ages of 10 and 12, who were charged with "waging war against the King." That was not all. From 1921 to 1937, more than a quarter of a million people were sent to prison, 3,000 were used to feed the guns and thousands were flogged, beaten, dragged and trampled under horses' hooves. Even today there are nearly 3,000 young men in prison, detained without trial for the last five or six years. It is a long story about which you will see more in subsequent chapters. Now let me quote the late King George Vth and his Ministers and other notable Englishmen on the pledges given to India. These pledges were originally compiled and quoted by Major D. Grahampole, an English journalist and a former member of the British Parliament, in the form of a letter in the *Manchester Guardian*, which is perhaps the most friendly paper to India. And here are the sacred pledges :

(1) *King's Will* : The instrument of instructions from H. M. the King-Emperor to the Governor-General of India dated March 15, 1921, contains these words :

"For, above all things, it is our will and pleasure that the plans laid by our Parliament . . . may come to fruition to the end that British India may attain its due place among our Dominions."

(2) *Dominion Status in Months: The former Prime Minister on July 2, 1928, used these words :*

"I hope that within a period of months rather than years there will be a new Dominion added to the Commonwealth of our nations, a Dominion of another race, a Dominion that will find self-respect as an equal within this Commonwealth. I refer to India."

Years instead of months have passed away and there is no sign of the "New Dominion."

(3) *Lord Irwin*: When he was Viceroy, on October 31, 1929, speaking with the full authority of the British Cabinet, said that it was "implicit in the declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress as there contemplated is the attainment of Dominion Status."

The young men in India told their leaders that they should not believe the "Christian Viceroy" but they believed him and Gandhi returned disillusioned and disappointed from the Round Table Conference in London, only to go back to his prison cell.

(4) *What Baldwin Promised*: Mr. Baldwin, in the debate in the House of Commons on November 7, 1929, said :

"Nobody knows what Dominion Status will be when India has responsible government, whether that date be near or distant, but surely no one dreams of a self-governing India with an inferior status. No Indian would dream of an India with an inferior status, nor can we wish that India should be content with an inferior status, because that would mean that we had failed in our work in India."

And now may I ask Mr. Baldwin if the status of India under the new Constitution is not inferior ?

The Constitution that has now been forced on us is said to confer responsible government on India, yet in it there is to be no mention of Dominion Status. What a mockery !

Lord Willingdon, as recently as August 28, 1933, said :

"This Government's policy has been completely consistent with two main facts—to push on with the reforms as hard as they could go so as to help India forward to Dominion Status and absolute equality with the other Dominions, secondly, to insist on order and obedience to the law of the land."

And again, speaking at Madras in December, 1933 :

"Every action I have taken has been for one purpose only—to secure a satisfactory and peaceful atmosphere and to push forward constitutional reforms *in order to help forward India to the goal of absolutely equality with the other Dominions within the Empire* —the goal for which I have worked ever since I was associated with India."

Does any Englishman with a conscience feel that India has been placed in a position of equality ?

(5) *Turncoat Churchill* : Even Mr. Churchill himself, when he held high office in the Cabinet as Secretary of State for the Dominions and Colonies at the time of the Imperial Conference in 1921, said (as appears on p. 1,792 of the minutes of evidence taken before the Joint Select Committee) :

"India was now coming into our affairs and councils as a partner, a powerful partner. We well know how tremendous was the contribution which India made in the war in 1914, how when there was no other means of filling a portion of the front by men from any other part of the whole world, there came the two splendid Indian corps which were almost annihilated in the mud and the shell fire of that terrible winter in Flanders."

But the most important part of his speech from the point of view of India—and the speech was made to representatives of the Dominions and of India—was as follows :—

"We owed India that deep debt and we looked forward confidently to the days when the Indian Government and people would have assumed fully and completely their Dominion Status."

(6) *And Ten Years Later : Mr. Winston Churchill ten years*

later said that he used the words 'Dominion Status' on that occasion in a ceremonial sense—whatever that may mean,—and he told the Joint Select Committee that he was merely making 'what politicians often have to do, an agreeable speech on festive occasion.' He went on to say :

"No member of the Cabinet meant contemplated, or wished to suggest the establishment of a Dominion Constitution for India in any period which human beings ought to take into account."

We can only pity England if her leading statesmen can have such a low standard of truth and honesty. Future England will curse them, if the present has no courage to do so.

(7) "*Pledges Not Binding* : In the House of Common on Monday, during the debate on the Joint Committee's report, Sir John Wardlaw-Milne, the Chairman of the Conservative M.P.'s India Committee, said :

"*No pledge given by any Secretary of State or any Viceroy has any legal bearing on the matter at all.* The only thing that Parliament is really bound by is the Act of 1919."

(8) *Repudiating the King's Declaration* : It was because of that attitude by responsible members of Parliament that the Indian delegates, in their memorandum to the Joint Committee said :

"Indian public opinion has been profoundly disturbed by the attempts made during the last two or three years to qualify the repeated pledges given by responsible Ministers on behalf of His Majesty's Government. Since it is apparently contended that only a definite statement in an Act of Parliament would be binding on future Parliaments, and *that even the solemn declaration made by His Majesty the King-Emperor on a formal occasion is not authoritative.* We feel that a declaration in the preamble is essential in order to remove present grave misgivings and avoid future misunderstandings."

The Parliament, in order to fool the constitutionalists in India decided that the word "Dominion Status" may not be included

the Council of State, the new Constitution will give birth to an indirect legislature with communal representation, special representation and a system of transferable votes. The result of all this will be that Progressives and Nationals will find themselves isolated in the Central Legislature of the future Constitution. To talk of responsible Government with indirect elections to the Lower House is nonsense. The question of reservations and safeguards pales into insignificance besides that of the composition of the Legislature. National issues hereafter will not come up before national elections and the system proposed will strengthen and not weaken communalism. Safeguards have been further strengthened while definition is going to be given to law and order. Further limitations are to be placed on the fiscal autonomy of the Indian Legislature, the services are to remain indefinitely under the control of the Secrerary of State and further Ministers and Legislators are to be subjected to this control in matters of railway administration and currency policy.

The Conttitution avoids the words, "Dominion Status," even the shadow of responsibility at the centre is made subject to conditions which may never be fulfilled.

Control of Army: Next in importance comes control of Defence and External Affairs. These two must go together, as in any form of government, the power that controls the one must also control the other. It is axiomatic that without control of defence, there cannot be real self-government. Supreme power will vest in the hands of the authority which controls the Army, so that a form of self-gvernment that leaves the Army out will not be worth a moment's purchase. The case for the transfer of Defence was put forcibly by Mahatma Gandhi at the Round Table Conference thus:

"I think that a nation that has no control over her own Defence forces and over her external policy, is hardly a responsible nation. Defence, its Army, is to a nation the very essence of its existence and if a nation's defence is controlled by an outside

agency, no matter how friendly it is, then that nation is certainly governed."

Even the Chairman of the Defence Sub-Committee of the first Round Table Conference said that he "did not want to hear a word about the competency, the qualification or the desire of India to defend herself." He wanted all that to be taken for granted. Ultimately that Committee recommended that "the Defence of India must, to an increasing extent, be the concern of the Indian people, and not of the British Government alone." But how has this concern of the Indian people received recognition in the Constitution ? Section 11 of the Act categorically removes Defence, Ecclesiastical Affairs and External Affairs, with the exception of the relations between the Federation and any part of His Majesty's Dominions, from the field of jurisdiction of the Federal Ministers and places them within the discretion of the Governor-General who will be assisted by three Counsellors in the discharge of these functions . . . .

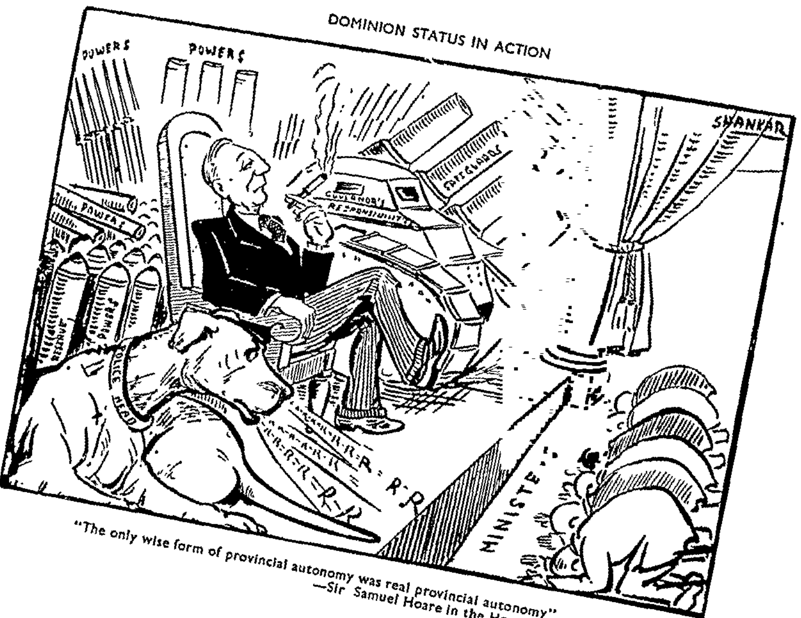
So that the administration of the Army will be as far removed from popular control, under the new Constitution as it is to-day, or even more, as the Governor-General-in-Council (including the Indian members) now exercises powers of superintendence, direction and control over the military as well as civil Government of India.

Huge Military Expenditure : India wants control of the Army not merely because the existence of a foreign army of occupation is derogatory to its dignity and inconsistent with self-government but also because the present Army administration imposes a burden on the country's finances, which leaves no surplus in the budget for a hundred and one other reforms which the country is anxious to carry through, but which cannot be introduced for want of funds. *So unprejudiced a critic as Sir Walter Layton, Financial Adviser to the Simon Commission, in his report, points out that the Central Government in India spends 62½ per cent of its revenues on defence—a higher proportion than in any other coun-*

try in the world. Even if provincial and central revenues are taken together, the ratio (31½ per cent) is still a very high one. He further says that not only is our Defence expenditure high, compared to other forms of expenditure, but it is, high, compared to expenditure for this purpose in other countries. India comes seventh among the nations of the world as regards Defence expenditure and our expenditure is two or three times as great as that of the whole of the rest of the Empire, outside Great Britain. No wonder that with such a large proportion of the taxes raised being spent on such an unproductive object, the country is becoming steadily impoverished. The complete reservation of Defence and Foreign Affairs and the absence of any provision for their transfer even after some time are fatal defects in the new Constitution.

Control of Finance: Next to defence, the most vital test of a new Constitution is the provision it makes for the administration of Finance. It is true that Finance will be under the control of Ministers, both at the centre and in the provinces, but their hands will be so bound down that they will find themselves more in the position of Treasurers and Cashiers allocating expenditure and spending money, according to rigid schedule, than real Ministers who can lay down the broad lines of policy likely to benefit the country as a whole. The Federal Finance Minister will find that in the special responsibility for "the safeguarding of the financial stability and credit of the Federal Government," the Governor-General has a weapon which will give him freedom to interfere in the minutest details of administration of his Department. Discussions of the Joint Parliamentary Committee and Parliament have amply demonstrated that the Governor-General's interference will not be confined to matters likely to affect the credit of India, like the raising of loans at unduly high rates of interest or the financing of a series of budget deficits by loans, as was done during the period of stewardship of our finances by Sir Malcolm (now Lord Hailey) but will extend to the whole

DOMINION STATUS IN ACTION



"The only wise form of provincial autonomy was real provincial autonomy"
—Sir Samuel Hoare in the House of Commons

field of financial administration. And in view of the immensity of the task which this special responsibility casts on the Governor-General, the Act has thoughtfully provided in Sections 15 for the appointment of a Financial Adviser, in his discretion, to assist him in the discharge of his responsibility.

Revenues Mortgaged: So much for the conditions under which he will work. As for the finances he will be supposed to control, about 80 per cent have been mortgaged to specific purposes he cannot touch. Apart from the expenditure of the reserved departments like Defence, Foreign Affairs and Ecclesiastical Affairs, Section 33 of the Act includes several items which are described as "expenditure charged on the revenues of the Federation." They include debt charges, the salary and allowances of the Governor-General, Ministers, Counsellors and Financial Adviser, the Judges of the Federal Court, sums required to meet court decrees, etc. These will not be subject to the vote of the Legislature and to that extent will be beyond the control of the Minister as well. The position of the Finance Minister in the provinces will be more or less similar to that of the Federal Minister, except for the absence of the special responsibility of the Governor-General for safeguarding the financial stability and credit of the country.

With such a large portion of the finances of the country earmarked for different purposes, the future Finance Ministers will find themselves unable to carry out programes which they had promised to carry out, because to them is denied the freedom to reallocate expenditure among different departments in such a way that what are known as the nation-building departments may benefit the most. Thus though Finance has been transferred to popular control, the transfer is so hedged round as to defeat the very object of such transfer.

Economic Slavery: The history of discriminating protection has shown how by a judicious use of tariffs India can build up

many new industries and strengthen existing ones. But ever since the discussion regarding the new Constitution began, British interests had been fighting hard to deny to India a freedom which they knew fully well would be used to build up Indian industries and would consequently affect their own interests adversely. Having exploited the Indian Market so long, they were unwilling to abandon a monopoly which had proved so advantageous to themselves, however ruinous to the country itself.

The long list of safeguards is sufficient to condemn the new Constitution as a most monstrous device to perpetuate our political and economic slavery, not the Magna Carta of Indian freedom, as it is so grossly misrepresented to be in gubernatorial utterances.

Nothing has escaped the eagle eyes of the inventors of these safeguards and the fact that it has been sought to clothe them with an air of righteousness by making them appear reciprocal is not likely to deceive anyone into imagining that justice has been done to this country.

The Exploiter's Charter : The net effect of the provisions contained in Chapter III, Part V of the Act, will be that the new Legislatures will not be able to encourage Indian industries by following a policy of unrestricted protection. Subsidies and bounties they may like to give to Indian industries will have to be given to their British competitors also who are already in the field. If the Federal Government want to encourage Indian shipping they cannot reserve coastal traffic to Indian shipping, as it will be discriminatory; they cannot give subsidies to Indian companies as their rivals equally will be entitled to them. Under these conditions, it will be well nigh impossible for any Government to do anything to help the development of indigenous industries. The Gandhi-Irwin Settlement spoke of safeguards demonstrably in the interests of India. Can there be worse safeguards intended to protect the exploiters' interest and ruinous to the economic future of the country? The new Constitution is thus a regular exploiters' charter.

Fundamental Rights : There is one other demand of the Congress on which it sets much stress but which the new Constitution has completely ignored, and that is the question of fundamental rights. In the Constitution drafted by the Nehru Committee, a Declaration of Fundamental Rights finds prominent place and the Committee insisted that such a declaration should be included in any future Constitution. And the reason is not far to seek. British statesmen, when sent out to India, forget all their constitutional upbringing and traditions and the Rule of Law has been more consistently defied in India than in the worst dictatorship-ridden country on the continent. Young men are arrested on mere suspicion of being involved in terrorist conspiracies and kept in detention for indefinite periods without ever being brought before courts of law. Persons acquitted after trial are arrested even before they leave the precincts of courts and hurried off to detention camps where they are kept as long as the Executive wants to keep them there. Internments and externments at the whim of the Executive are the order of the day. Even well-known leaders are not free from the exercise of these vague and extraordinary powers of the Executive. The right of free association is denied, even when the objects do not involve violent subversion of the existing Government. Freedom of speech exists only so long as the Government and their myrmidons care to allow it. The press has since long ceased to to be an organ for the expression of free public opinion. Apart from the right of the Executive to demand security and *forefeit* it at its own sweet will and pleasure, other and more insiduous, because more subtle, forms of pressure are exerted on the press, resulting in its utter demoralization. Press officers appointed ostensibly to help the press in keeping within the bonds of law use their influence not only to keep out from the press, things that, are likely to offend the law of the land but to convey gentle hints as to the form in which different items of news are to be displayed, the types in which they are to be composed and the headlines to be given. And when the press knows that on

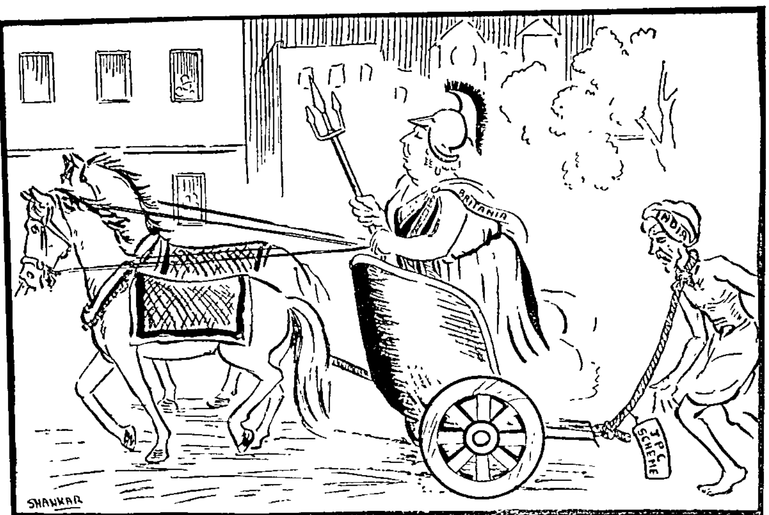
their reports will depend whether it will be called upon to deposit a heavy security or the present security forefeited and a heavier one demanded, it need scarcely be added that anything in the nature of the freedom of the press is practically non-existent.

It is because of the prevalence of such conditions that the Congress wanted that in the new Constitution there should be a Declaration of Fundamental Rights. But the Joint Parliamentary Committee, who could approve of the most ingenious forms of safeguards for the protection of the privileged position of the British citizen and company in India and add to them, could not approve of the idea of such a Declaration being included in the Constitution Act.

There are other aspects of the national demand from which the Constitution may be examined and may be shown to fall short of. But its failure in these few essential respects must be sufficient to show why the Congress has been forced to reject it and place before the country the alternative of a constitution drawn by a Constituent Assembly to be convened when circumstances favour such a step.

I dare say no reader will call such a defective constitution a "Magna Carta of Freedom." It simply gives a new name to old chains. The Congress men in India have, therefore, decided to wreck the Constitution by creating deadlocks within the Legislatures, Great Britain will realize in the very near future that no constitution can be forced on 350 million people against their unanimous opposition. Only a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise has the right to frame a constitution and the Indian National Congress is now busy to bring about that situation. India is experiencing a great non-violent struggle to gain her rights. The reader will soon hear that India no longer sleeps, and Britain will also realize what is the sequel to "Broken Pledges." Long live British pledges!

"GIVE UNTO CAESAR—"



"The J. P. C. is a great link between Britain and India," said one of the Tory orators at their recent conference.

CHAPTER VI

THE MONKEY DRAMA

"Divide et impera was the old Roman motto and it should be ours."
—*Lord Elphinstone.*

Ever since British Imperialism established its domination over India, the whole world has been hearing of the same old story of Hindus and Moslems fighting with one another—not once or twice—but every time a challenge is thrown out to the supremacy of the British in India. It requires only a little commonsense to see that such tension between communities is nothing but the objective expression of the golden rule of Imperialism—"Divide and rule."

The late Mrs. Annie Besant, a noble English woman who devoted her life to the cause of India, declared a few months before her death, that the Hindus and Moslems would continue to fight as long as there existed a third party (British rulers), since it was to the interest of this third party, which spent millions to keep Hindus and Moslems at logger-heads; but the two communities, she also said, had now begun to see through the game, and the day of reckoning was coming. This statement is not a solitary one. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, Lord Olivier and numerous honest Englishmen had told the truth years ago. Yet hired propagandists like Miss Mayo continue to propagate the lie that Britain protects Hindus and Moslems from cutting each other's throats.

No Religious Problem : So often has the lie been repeated that some people have begun to believe it as gospel truth. I must frankly confess that on this point the British political and propaganda machine has scored a victory over us. These questions have been vastly exaggerated by the British. There has always been

names. I have known of instances where Moslem villagers have made offerings in Hindu temples to appease Hindu gods in times of the visitation of epidemics, and I know of one tract where, every Thursday evening, Hindus make offerings at the shrines of Moslem martyrs. To state, therefore, that deadly hatred exists between the members of the two religions is not only unwarrantable, but undesirable." (Long Live Truth !)

Mr. Buck's contention can be supported by hundreds of instances, but let me refer to only two. The first is a telegraphic message circulated by the official news agency, the Associated Press of India : "Gift of Land for Ashram—

Moslem's Regard for Hindu Deities (Bankura, July 3)—Maulvi Abdul Aziz Khan, a landholder of Midnapore, has made a free gift of land measuring sixteen Bighas for the erection of an ashram at Puranabazar, Kharagpur.

"In his deed of gift he has asked the executors to instal the images of Haranath and other deities for worship there."—A.P.

The great loyalist, Sir Umar Hayat Khan Tiwana, ex-member of the India Council has often donated liberally towards Hindu institutions and so do many Hindus for Moslem mosques and schools.

Personal Experience : It seems Mr. Buck is a truly honest Englishman, who speaks out the whole truth. The relations among the Hindu and Moslem masses have always remained cordial for centuries and they often join in celebration of each other's religious festivals, marriages, funerals, etc. I recall with great pleasure the occasion of my brother's marriage, when eighty Moslems accompanied the marriage party, which consisted besides, of two hundred Hindus and twenty Sikhs. The relations between Hindus and Moslems are so cordial in my district that I, born a Hindu, used to go daily to the Moslem shrine of a great saint and to a Hindu shrine in the neighbourhood. I was occasionally told by the two priests about the friendly relations of the two Hindu and Moslem saints enshrined in those buildings. Even today, though I no longer believe in idol worship, I would love to pay my respects

at the two shrines, if I get a chance to visit my village. The great majority of Hindus and Moslems all over India have the same fraternal feelings; but it is the few job—seekers and title-hunters who, in their anxiety to get a few loaves from the British, incite the two communities to fight and thus provide the chance for the British rulers to tell the world that but for them the two communities would cut each other's throats.

This dirty propaganda has been carried on for decades. Sometimes the Hindus are told that Moslem Afghanistan will invade India as soon as the British retire, while on other occasions the Moslems are told that the Hindu majority will swallow them if India becomes free.

The Monkey and The Cats: The whole story of British rule reminds me of the story of "The Monkey and the Two Cats," which I read in the first primer. Once upon a time there was a monkey, too shrewd and cunning. He met two cats, who were quarrelling over a loaf. He assumed the role of a self-styled judge and told them, "Why do you quarrel, I will divide the loaf into two equal parts for you," and saying so he divided it into two unequal parts and put them in the balance. When one side weighed more, he tore a bit of the loaf and munched it, when the next side weighed heavier, he munched a bit from that piece too and thus he swallowed both pieces and the cats returned home crying and repenting their folly in accepting the monkey as their judge.

My child, aged 5, loves to hear this story very often—she too has been his Majesty's guest in prison for six months. Every school boy, in fact every child, in India knows this story. "The Monkey and the Two Cats" is being repeated in India from day-to-day. This story may be fiction written by a patriotic Indian to warn the younger generation of the dangers of the "Divide and Rule" policy, which forms the basis of British rule.

Some Concrete Facts: Only fools or knaves can deny that

British rule is chiefly responsible for the so-called communal trouble in India. Hundreds of reliable authorities and specific instances can be quoted to support my contention, but I shall quote about one dozen and leave the verdict to the reader's fairplay.

(I)

Prime Minister's Testimony : Let me begin with Ramsay Macdonald, ex-Prime Minister of Great Britain, who frankly charged British officials with fomenting communal troubles.

In his book *Awakening of India* (p. 283) he called sharp attention to the "*wide-spread suspicion that sinister influences* have been and are at work on the part of the Government ; that Moslem leaders have been and are inspired by certain British *officials, and that these officials have pulled and continue to pull* wires at Simla and in London, and of malice aforethought, sow discord between the Moslem and the Hindu communities, by show*ing to the Moslem special favours.*"

(II)

Lord Olivier's Verdict : Lord Olivier, who was Secretary of State for India in the first Macdonald Government in a letter to the *Times* said :

"No one with a close acquaintance with Indian affairs will be prepared to deny that on the whole there is a predominant bias in British officialdom in favour of the Moslem community, partly on the ground of closer sympathy, but more largely as a make-weight against Hindu nationalism."

And this spirit was openly exhibited in the deliberately engineered communal riots in Bengal in *1930, when the national movement* was in full swing.

(III)

A European Lady Asks : "The nationalists ask one question which I have never heard satisfactorily answered. If the British do not encourage Hindu-Moslem *antagonism, how does it happen*

that with the exception of the state of Hyderabad, all the rioting occurs in British India ?"—*Understanding India.* (p. 230)

Since Mrs. Marvin Williams made the above statement, the British authorities staged riots in the states of Kashmir and Alwar, because the two rulers dared to make a statement similar to the one made by the lady writer. The Maharaja of Alwar had also presided at a Unity Conference and taken prominent part in solving communal tangles. Now he has been exiled from his state, while the Kashmir ruler is so only in name. A British Prime Minister runs the whole show.

(IV)

"*Our Greatest Safeguard*" : Lt.-Col. G. Walton proclaims in the *Times* that unity is the last thing Britain ought to welcome in India. Perhaps there is more than a grain of truth in Col. Walton's remarks which I quote in full. He says :

"Lord Salisbury pours contempt on the safeguards outlined in the Report of the Joint Select Committee. He refers to the undying hatred between Hindus and Mahomedans, but does not mention that *therein lies our greatest safeguard—the one by which we have held India in the past ; by which we hold it today and shall hold it in the future. To withhold the measure of responsibility at the Centre recommended by the Report would be to unite Hindus and Mahomedans as they have never been united before in history, and India would be lost to us.*"

(V)

British Motto : As early as 1821, a British officer signing himself "Carnaticus" wrote in the *Asiatic Review* of May that year :—"*Divide et Impera* should be the motto of our Indian administration whether political, civil or military."

(VI)

Let Them Not Unite : About the time of the Mutiny, Lieutenant Colonel John Coke, Commandant at Moradabad wrote :

"Our endeavour should be to uphold in full force the (for us fortunate) separation which exists between the two different religions and races, not to endeavour to amalgamate them. *Divide et Impera* should be the principle of Indian Government."

(VII)

What Lord Elphinstone Wrote: Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay in a minute dated 14th May, 1850 wrote: "*Divide et Impera* was the old Roman motto and it should be ours." (N. B. All the three preceding quotations are quoted from Major B. D. Basu's *Consolidation of the Christian Power in India.* Chapter VI pp. 74 and 75. Publishers—*The Modern Review*, Calcutta).

(VIII)

There Lies British Strength: Sir John Strachey said: "The existence side by side of hostile creeds among the Indian people is one of the strong points in our political position in India."

(IX)

British Official's Confession: Mr. A. O. Hume, a high British official in India once made a frank confession to Mahatma Gandhi that the British Government was "Sustained by the policy of Divide and Rule."

(X)

Their Favourite Wife: Every student of Indian history in Indian, remembers the address delivered by Sir Bampfylde Fuller, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, in which he represented the British Government in India as having "two wives," Hindu and Moslem, the Moslem being the Government's "Favourite Wife."

But British Government never spares its "Favourite Wife," where the latter stands shoulder to shoulder with the Hindu community in the fight for freedom.

The reader will find from the record of British cruelties, that

tribute on unbelievers or punishing with fanatical zeal the slaying of kine. But the Hindu and Muslim masses—before they had eaten of the tree of knowledge and become religious-conscious—worshipped peacefully side by side at the same shrines."

—*Unhappy India.*

British Create Riots :—A correspondent of the *Indian Daily Mail* throws a flood of light upon the policy adopted by the Government to circumvent and destroy the Independence Movement. The policy is to create communal troubles all over India and thereby to crush the movement. For the correspondent says :—"A still more distressing feature is the unconscious revelation made by certain officials of the Government relying upon Muslim support to defeat the National Movement."

This sinister policy seems to have been successfully carried into practice at Dacca. The Dacca Mohammedan public was not against the Civil Disobedience Movement.

The Mohammedan masses at Dacca did not keep themselves aloof from the movement. Daily meetings were held in the Coronation Park. These meetings were attended and addressed by Mohammedans. A huge meeting was held to read proscribed literature, in which a large body of Mohammedan youths took part. Mohammedan volunteers went to Contai to break the Salt Law there. Mohammedan volunteers along with Hindu volunteers picketed the liquor shops.

Cigarettes were boycotted by both Hindus and Mohammedans spontaneously without much propaganda. Biris (indigenous cigarettes) replaced the cigarettes by which the Mohammedans profited very much as the biri manufacturers are mostly Mohammedans. At a meeting of the cloth dealers and tailors and outfitters held at the Dacca Bar Association at the instance of the Congress, the Mohammedan dealers and shopkeepers were numerous and a resolution boycotting foreign cloth was unanimously carried, two Mohammedans and two Hindus proposing, seconding and supporting the resolution.

On the 15th of April, 1930, a *hartal* (cessation of work) was held at Dacca on account of the arrest of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Indian National Congress. No other *hartal* at Dacca had been so successful. Both Mohammedans and Hindus enthusiastically joined the *hartal*. Both Hindus and Mohammedan shops were closed. Hackney coach drivers who are all Mohammedans ceased to ply their carriages. When Gandhi was arrested, a *hartal* was spontaneously observed at Dacca.

Now read what the Government Report has to say on the matter :

"It appears that the civil disobedience campaign began gently in Dacca and at first the Mohammedans did not actively object and some of them even joined. In April, the picketing of the excise shop in the Nawabpore Road was hardly noticeable by people driving through this main thoroughfare. *Hartals* however were frequent and meetings were held almost daily in the Coronation Park. According to a witness, Babu Jogendra Nath Guha Thakurta, headmaster of various educational institutions, besides being a lifelong Congress member, these meetings were attended by from three to ten thousand people, including hundreds of women. There were many Mohammedans among the speakers and among the audience and there were never any disturbances...... At the meetings at the Coronation Park, contraband salt was sold and at one meeting proscribed literature was read from seven different platforms." (Page 12).

Magistrate Hatched Riots : The Unofficial Report on the Dacca riots says : "The success of these *hartals* and the successful picketing conducted by the volunteers under trying circumstances and the readiness of the shopkeepers to boycott foreign cloth appeared to have led the local authorities to make an attempt to crush the movement at Dacca."

"The Nawab of Dacca was absent from Dacca. It is reported that he returned to Dacca at this juncture in response to an urgent official message. The Nawab held a meeting at Ahsan

Manzil on the 18th May, 1930. At this memorable meeting, Mr. Holland, the Magistrate and Mr. Griffith, the manager of the Nawab's Court of Wards estate were present." (That the District Magistrate was present at this meeting is admitted in the official report. Page 24.)

At that meeting the Nawab delivered a significant speech. The substance of the speech appeared in a local Mohammedan paper, *Aman*, on the 20th of May, 1930, from which I give the following extract :—

"Addressing the Magistrate, the Nawab of Dacca, said: 'You are the representative of the Government. I inform you for communicating to the Government that the Mohammedans have always helped the British Raj. But the Government has not shown any favour to the Mohammedans in return...... The Hindus are about to do infinite harm to us by their present movement. If the Government do not help the Mohammedans, how can the Mohammedans help the Government ?'

"It appears that a sort of pact was formed between the Nawab and the Magistrate by which they pledged to help each other. Events which followed, showed that each party kept the terms of the pact thus formed."

(XIV)

Police Superintendent's Threat : Here is a much stronger proof that police instigated the riots.

The Dacca Bar report says: "On 5th May, 1930, some members of the Dacca Bar Association went to see the Magistrate. He was absent. They however met the Superintendent of the Police, Mr. Hodson. He was told that unless the trouble between the Sankharies and the Mohammedans was nipped in the bud, it might spread all over the town. Mr. Hodson said that he did not care, he was ready to open fire. Finally, he said that he did not understand the mentality of the Hindus. Having declared Civil Disobedience, they should not come to the police for protection. This was the first indication of the working of the

official mind. A few days later, it was made clearer. A few volunteers were picketing the liquor shop of Roy & Co., Mr. Hodson suddenly appeared on the scene and ordered them to withdraw. They refused. Whereupon, Mr. Hodson said, 'Unless you withdraw, I will set the Mohammedans against you; I will just phone to the Nawab,' saying this he entered the shop and phoned to the Nawab, but apparently the Nawab was out, for there was no response to Mr. Hodson's message. He then went away. A report of the conversation between Mr. Hodson and the leader of the picketers was posted at the street corners and other prominent places of the town and subsequently read at a meeting held in the Coronation Park. No contradiction to this has appeared uptil now. Mr. Hodson has not been thus left in the dark regarding the official policy to be pursued during the disturbance which shortly followed."

And few days later Mr. Hodson carried out his plan and Dacca had the worst blood bath in its history.

(XV)

Englishmen Turn Murderers: What the British officials did in Dacca was repeated at Chittagong, where police, military and Englishmen murdered and looted the Hindu population and declared that it was a communal riot.

The following is an account of the findings of a Committee of eleven high standing citizens including the Ex-Mayor of Calcutta, appointed to investigate the Chittagong Atrocities.

"On arrival at Chittagong, Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, Ex-Mayor of Calcutta, saw Mr. Nelson, Commissioner of the Chittagong Division and Mr. Kemm, the District Magistrate, at their request. Mr. Sen Gupta reported to the Committee that the attitude of these gentlemen was that they could not assist the Committee in their work of inquiry, but that they would not hinder it. Subsequently, Mr. Sen Gupta formally wrote to officials asking them to give the Committee their version of the incidents; but they declined to do so."

(XVI)

Night of Terror: "As the public are aware, Khan Bahadur Ashanulla, a police inspector, was shot dead on the Palton Football ground on Sunday, the 30th of August, at about 6 p. m. We are told that the assailant was apprehended on the spot and has since been sent up for trial in a court of law. Evidence of such respectable witnesses as Rai Upendra Lal Roy Bahadur, a prominent citizen of Chittagong, Jatindra Nath Chaudhury, Moulavi Afsaruddin, Annada Dutt and others compels us to observe that not only was there not even the beginnings of a 'communal' riot, but that by 10 p. m., on Sunday, 30th of August, the police and the local magistracy, by joint effort, created a disorder, deliberately and of a set purpose, in which they expected the victims of assault and looting, (actively encouraged them) to retaliate against their assailants, so that the rather too frequent story of 'communal' *riots may be told again* with impunity, in defence of the subsequent events. It just happened—for whatever reason—that the victims of this very deliberate conspiracy and concerted action on the part of the police and the magistracy did not 'retaliate' or even resist these attacks on their lives and property. Evidence is overwhelming to show that not only was there no inter-communal strife—that is, *strife between the Hindu and the Mohammedan community of* Chittagong but that efforts, which had undoubtedly been made to create one, failed,"

"IT WAS A NIGHT OF TERROR IN CHITTAGONG. THE PRINCIPAL FEATURE OF THE TERROR WAS THAT THE ASSAILANTS WERE MEMBERS OF THE POLICE FORCE, THE ARMED POLICE, GURKHAS AND ENGLISHMEN. IT SEEMS THAT THEY PURSUED A POLICY OF GENERAL VENDETTA ON HINDU CITIZENS OF CHITTAGONG. THEY PARTICULARLY ATTACKED THE HOUSES OF THOSE WHO HAD INCURRED THE DISPLEASURES OF THE LOCAL

AUTHORITIES, INCLUDING POLITICAL 'SUSPECTS,' PLEADERS WHO ARE ENGAGED IN THE DEFENCE OF PERSONS ACCUSED IN THE CHITTAGONG ARMOURY RAID CASE, AND THE MEN EMPLOYED IN AT LEAST ONE WELL-KNOWN PRINTING PRESS. THE MANNER OF THE ATTACK WAS NOT ONLY ENTIRELY ILLEGAL, BUT IT WAS COWARDLY AND BRUTAL. SEARCH WARRANTS WERE NOT CONSIDERED NECESSARY. IT IS OBVIOUS THAT THE LOCAL EXECUTIVE ENCOURAGED THESE ATTACKS. WE SHALL REFER TO A FEW INSTANCES."

(XVII)

"The *Panchajanya Press* is housed in the locality of Chittagong which is known as Rahomatganj. It is the press in which the popular Nationalist newspaper *Panchajanya* is printed. It was raided sometime after 10.30 p.m., by a party of Englishmen armed with revolvers. Srijut Hirendra Lal Choudhury, who was in charge of the Press, was assaulted and fell down in semi-conscious condition, with a wound in the head which bled profusely. The employees of the Press were made to hold their hands up while the furniture and the machinery were wantonly broken. As the machinery could not be easily broken, two of the raiding party members (Englishmen) went out in a motor car to fetch two large hammers with which they eventually succeeded in completely smashing the treadle-machine, the flat machine, the hand machine, the motor and oil engine. The types were scattered on the floor, the typewriter was rendered useless and even a map of the district of Chittagong was torn up. There was a Lewis Gun placed at the door of the house. It is significant that the raiding party repeatedly asked for Srijut Ambika Charan Das, the proprietor of the Press, who was then in Calcutta."

(XVIII)

Military Rape a Girl : "But the most pitiful evidence came from the daughter (16 years of age) of Srijut Bipin Behari Sen, whose house had been raided also about midnight. After the first search of the house, the police took away her two brothers. Three Gurkhas returned again, forced her father to open the door, and entered the house on the pretence of a further search. While one of the Gurkhas prevented the father to come to her aid, other Gurkhas attacked her and subjected her to a brutal and cowardly assault. When she attempted to cry out, they gagged her. Her father too was struck when he made a desperate attempt to protect her ; when he was overpowered and his nose began to bleed, the Gurkhas renewed their assault on her. The Gurkhas eventually went away with a gold ornaments and gold coins."

(XIX)

"Binode Kumar Sen, who, after an assault, had been advised to spend the night of Sunday with his family, in the house of a friend, returned in the morning to his own house which he found in a deplorable condition. He went first to the Sub-Divisional Officer, showed him the marks of injury on him and "told him the whole story." The Sub-Divisional Officer advised him to lodge a complaint and to see the District Magistrate. The District Magistrate refused him assistance, and even went to the length of making light of his sufferings and loss. Let us quote Sen's words :

"So far as I remember his (*i. e. the District Magistrate's*) exact words are these : 'Why have you come to me ? I can't do anything. Go to your Hindu brethern and Bar Library. Organize yourselves and arrange for your own protection.' Pointing his finger at me, he said—'You Hindu people are concealing the absconders. They are egging others on to make mischief. I am not in the least surprised that you are molested. You have received only some bruises, but there are people who have suffered more than you." (The District Magistrate is an

Englishman, and is the head official who is supposed to protect this district.)

(XX)

What Englishmen Did: "Respectable men like Maulavi Amir Khan, Sj Harikissen Choudhurym, Rai Bahadur Upendra Lal Roy, Sj Annada Dutt, told us how the police not only did not hinder the looting but assisted the looters to carry off their loot through the public thoroughfares of Chittagong. According to the shop-keeper Umesh Pal's evidence, that the 'Sahib' (Englishman) was telling the looters : 'Take everything away quickly : there is not very much time.' Even when the police were shown people openly carrying away stolen goods they refused to assist in their recovery. On the contrary, as we have said, there is evidence that the police helped them to escape, and English sergeants remained there smiling."

"We hold that a large portion of the property taken away by the licensed free looters could have been recovered. It was not recovered because there was no attempt to recover it. On the contrary, the free looters carried their loot away openly. We have the evidence of Kshirendra's stolen property, who was threatened by a public constable by the name of Nur Ahmed with his gun, and was made to let a looter go."

(XIX)

Englishmen Raid School: "The disturbances were not confined to the town of Chittagong. They were carried to the interior. In the hinterland of Chittagong a school was raided by uniformed English police officers. The Headmaster was absent from the school that day. The school had both Hindu and Mohammedan pupils. The Assistant Headmaster went out to greet these policemen, to show them 'every courtesy'. The courtesy shown in return by these men was first to ignore him, second to ask for the 'leaders of the Hindu boys in the school, third to parade some of the tallest Hindu boys, fourth to place them one after

another on a table, head downwards, to hold up their legs and to administer to their bare limbs ten to fifteen lashes. Even the Mohammedan boys, who happened to wear what are known as "Gandhi caps" were not spared. They left the school thereafter saying that they had taught the master how to administer a school. This is reminiscent of the Punjab atrocities of 1919. This was not an isolated instance. It took place in the village of Scharoatoli. Within the Thana of Patiya, other similar incidents occurred with the same kind of frightfulness."

The Conclusion : "One thing was clearly borne in upon us in our investigation of the incidents outside of the town of Chittagong, namely, that in all the outrages which took place on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, there was nothing in the nature of a communal disturbance in these villages. In the systematic raid on private dwellings and their wanton destruction, there is no evidence that a single Mohammedan villager took any part. They were carried out under the orders of British officers by members of the Eastern Frontier Rifles commonly known as Gurkhas. We give in an appendix to our report a list of some forty houses which were thus attacked. The raids covered several villages in the vicinity of Chittagong: Guatoli, Sharoatoli, Kanungapare, Sripur, Ropadia and Kharandaip. Some of us visited all these villages and examined the extent of the damages of the inmates of the houses destroyed.

The method and manner of destruction in all these villages were similar. Houses were either burnt or wantonly damaged. Trees were cut down at their roots. Every article of furniture was broken. Even railings in verandahs of houses were cut down. In some cases bamboo props were similarly destroyed. Out of vindictiveness the houses of the mother of the late Ramkrishna Biswas (who had already been hanged for a political offence) was burnt. The late Prasanna Kumar Sen's house was burnt after the police officers had inquired about a political "suspect." The alleged murderer of Khan Bahadur Ashanullah was brought to his village

and made to witness the destruction of his house by the Police. In the course of these raids on the villages, young men were indiscriminately beaten. Food-stuffs found in the houses were rendered unfit for human consumption. Even saris (principal garment worn by Hindu women), quilts, and wearing apparel were cut to pieces. Cooking utensils were ruthlessly destroyed. All this was done by daylight, It was pure terrorism, carried on with inhuman callousness by the police with the help of Gurkhas.

Summary of Findings : (1) The affairs of Sunday night were the result of concerted action by British non-officials, British officers, and Mohammedan police under British officers' supervision.

(2) Monday's looting was done with the knowledge of the local authorities and at the instigation of the police . . . . It was started and carried on under the protection of the police.

(3) In the moffusil, the disturbances took place under orders from the local authorities.

(4) Behind the disturbances which had been planned, the motive was to terrorise people, particularly the Hindus, (who were taking prominent part in the struggle for freedom). The authors of the above report have not been prosecuted by the Government and this is positive proof of the report's correctness. What greater proofs are needed to show that the British Government exists on the strength of a "Divide And Rule" policy ?

The Conclusion : As already mentioned there is no real fight over religion in India. The religious conflict in India is a struggle for power by henchmen of the Government. It is true that these traitors are found among politicians of both communities, and they are but using their co-religionists as tools in their struggle. Although the press has given little time to exposing the real roots of these conflicts, the reports always show that strong economic forces are at work in many of them. Often the reports show that the struggle is against the landlords, often against the money-lenders. These are social, not religious matters.

Religion is merely used as a weapon, but when once started, the weapon becomes the master.

Both Being Fooled: The result is that both Hindus and Moslems are being fooled and exploited by British rulers and their Indian agents. Exploitation is no respector of religion.

When it comes to exploiting the Indian peasant and worker no difference is made as to whether he is a Muslim or a Hindu. The Hindu and Muslim peasant alike must pay high rent to landlords and exorbitant interest to the money-lender. The Hindu and Muslim workers have to work side by side for a few annas a day in Bombay, Calcutta, or Madras mill—and their employer may be Hindus or Muslims. Both Hindu and Muslim mothers must work as slaves in factories, with their miserable babies dosed with opium lying huddled in rag nests under the machines. The owner—though he be Hindu or Muslim—will see those mothers die of cholera during strikes, and their babies die like flies. Respect for religion or life or motherhood plays no part with those who make their profits by grinding the faces of the poor. The Indian workers and peasants, whether Hindu or Muslim, must hunger and die together, and their employers and money-lenders live in palaces out of money squeezed from the workers, and spend more on one dinner than they pay a worker in a year. Considered as social products, the Indian people cannot be divided into Hindu and Muslim etc., but into categories of workers: agriculturists, textile workers, physicians, teachers, etc. It is not religion that makes corn grow, or that forces workers to spin and weave. When a child is born, it is not born with superior qualities because it is a Hindu or a Muslim and children in the schools do not make these differences. It is only when their elders poison them with religious ideas of hate of each other that they are later capable of cutting each others' throats. The religious view of life is confined to men who are ignorant, or to those who are unconscious dupes of special interest, or to men with personal interests. The only ones who live by religion are the Mullahs, priests and other professional God-

ites, that is parasites. If the masses are not ignorant and religious, these gentlemen lose their jobs. The more ignorant and fanatical they are, the easier and more secure are the lives of the professional, religionists, who are agents of the British rulers.

The only way to put an end to this "Monkey Drama" is to throw off the "yoke of the monkey."

The Easiest Test : The late Lala Lajpat Rai made the following statement on the floor of the Indian Legislative Assembly in 1928 :—

"It is the presence of the third party that is responsible for the riots. There is a third party behind the people who bring about these riots. Has not a responsible statesman said that the differences between the Hindus and the Moslems could be removed but for the presence of the third party ? Withdraw and then see whether we quarrel. That is the easiest test."

Rulers Create Riots : It was perhaps for our rulers that Edmund Burke said centuries ago :—

"Unable to rule the multitude, they endeavour to raise divisions amongst them. One mob is hired to destroy another : a procedure which at once encourages the boldness of the populace, and justly increases their discontent."

The story is being repeated in India and the time is not far off when the two "mobs" will teach a lesson to the third party.

CHAPTER VII

BRITAIN'S GREAT ACHIEVEMENT

"Against the suppression of Thugee and Suttee is to be placed the black fact that in one hundred and fifty years of rule, England had established no national system of education, that the percentage of literacy was greater than it had been when England took charge, that, so far as the records indicate, the people of India were happier, richer, and more prosperous under their native rulers and native system than they have been under the English.'
"In 1750, almost every Indian village had its school and probably 60 per cent of the population was literate. The schools have perished under British rule ; today, 90 per cent of the population, 320,000,000 are illiterates ; the total of literates in any language is 22,600,000 after 150 years. Are the British fit to govern ?"

—Charles Edward Russell

"According to a Government Report of 1835 there was a village school for every 400 persons."—Missionary Intelligencer, IX, pp. 183—193.

"The effect of education will be to do away with all the prejudices of sects and religions by which we hitherto kept the country—the Mussalmans against Hindus and so on. . . . ."

—Major-General Sir Lionel Smith

The mighty propaganda machine of the British Government which succeeded in dragging the United States of America into the last World War, has succeeded in misleading the civilized world into believing that Indians were illiterates before British rule and that even today hardly nine per cent of the three hund-

red fifty million Indians are literate and that they are therefore unfit to manage their country. This false and mischievous propaganda has temporarily been able to becloud the truth, but future historians of India will describe this as the darkest crime of British rule and will condemn it in much stronger words than those of the American author, Mr. Russell, quoted above. It reminds me of the story of a band of policemen in the United Provinces (in India) who robbed a village and then arrested some of their victims on the charge of dacoity and got them sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. But the truth was subsequently revealed when the police officer in charge of the case committed suicide, other policemen were sent to prison and the innocent villagers were released. The British are repeating the same drama today. They have deliberately killed our age-long system of education, they have lowered the percentage of literacy from sixty to nine per cent in two centuries of benevolent rule and now they blame us for being illiterate. This is a new hight in hypocrisy. Rightly does Mr. Russell ask if these rulers, who brought the percentage of literacy from sixty to nine per cent, are fit to govern ? Japan achieved ninety-nine per cent literacy in seventy years, Russia and Turkey achieved wonders in a decade, America educated the Philippines in thirty years, but what did Great Britain achieve in two centuries ?—minus fifty-one per cent (−51%) literacy. Certainly it is a "Great Achievement." If I were an English ruler, I would not show my face to the civilized world simply because of this, the darkest crime in world history. But our rulers have the audacity and courage to tell the world that they are teaching us the A. B. C's of civilization. If the verdict of the historians (quoted in the second chapter) has not yet convinced the reader that India was the fountain-head of learning and the sciences, let me present some authorities to show the condition of literacy in India before the British rule.

(1) *British Historian's Confession*: The late Mr. Keir Hardie, in his work on India, (p. 5), wrote:

"Max-Muller, on the strength of official documents and a

missionary report concerning education in Bengal prior to the British occupation, asserts that there were then 80,000 native schools in Bengal, or one for every 400 of the population. *Ludlow, in his history of British India, says that in every Hindu village which has retained its old form I am assured that the children generally are able to read, write, and cipher, but where we have swept away the village system, as in Bengal, there the village school has also disappeared.*"

(2) Regarding education in the Deccan, in the pre-British period, Mountstuart Elphinstone, in his *Minute on Education* written in March, 1824, said:

"The great body of the people (of the Deccan) are quite illiterate; yet there is a certain class in which men capable of reading, writing, and instructing, exist in much greater numbers than are required, or can find employment. This is a state of things which can not long continue, The present abundance of people of education is owing to the demand there was for such persons under the Maratha Government. That cause has now ceased, the effect will soon follow, and unless some exertion is made by the Government, the country will certainly be in a worse state under our rule than it was under the Peshwas. I do not confine this observation to what is called learning, which, in its present form, must unavoidably fall off under us, but to the humbler acts of reading and writing, which, if left to themselves, will decline among the Brahmins without increasing among the other castes."

"What Elphinstone anticipated has actually come to pass," says Major Basu, who, describing the ancient educational system, writes in his book *Education Under the East India Company* as follows :

"In the pre-British period in India, there were four methods of education at work; viz : the instruction given by the Brahmins to their disciples; the tols, or seats of Sanskrit learning; the maktabs and madrassas for Mohamedans and schools in almost every village of note."

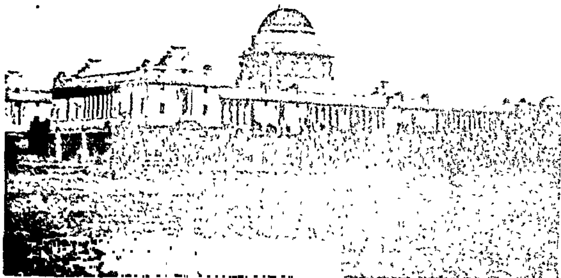
(3) *A Major Tells the Truth* : Walter Hamilton, writing in 1828 from official records, said :

"It has long been remarked that science and literature are in a progressive state of decay among the natives of India, the number of learned men being not only diminished, but the circle of learning, even among those who still devote themselves to it, greatly contracted. The abstract sciences are abandoned; and no branch of learning cultivated, but what is connected with the peculiar religious sects and doctrines, or with the astrology of the people. *The principal cause of this retrograde condition of literature may be traced to the want of that encouragement which was formerly afforded to it by princes, chieftains and opulent individuals, under the native governments, now past and gone.*" (Vol. I. p. 203)

(4) The British administrators of India of those days were actuated by political motives in keeping Indians ignorant. Thus one gallant Major-General Sir Lionel Smith, K.C.B., at the enquiry of 1831, said:

"*The effect of education will be to do away with all the prejudices of sects and religions by which we have hitherto kept the country—the Mussalmans against Hindus, and so on;* the effect of education will be to expand their minds, and show them their vast power." Quoted from "*Education in India under the East India Company.*"

(5) *Ancient Educational System* : I quote from "*Village Government in British India*" on the subject. On page 39 the author observes as follows, "The history of village education in India goes back perhaps to the beginnings of the village community. The schoolmaster had a definite place assigned to him in the village economy, in the same manner as the headman, the accountant, the watchman, and the artisans. He was an officer of the village community, paid either by rent-free lands or by assignments of grain out of the village harvest. In all likelihood, the



Ten Million Dollar Home of the British Viceroys

VICTIMS OF UNIVERSITIES

THE COLLEGE

EXIT

SHANKAR

While the British have spent millions of dollars in "Aping the great Moghuls," *Indian graduates starve and die of hunger.*

earliest schoolmaster was the Brahmin priest of the village, who offered worship to the village deity on behalf of the different classes of people who lived in the village. From this function discharged by the priest followed his subsidiary function of imparting instruction to those castes who were either of the "twice born" (the superior castes), or were in any way connected with the "twice born" and felt the obligation of acquiring letters. The earliest Shastric injunctions bearing on the duties of priests laid upon them the obligation not merely of ministering to religion, but of imparting instruction in the rudiments of knowledge. In the lands which supported the priestly schoolmaster were the lands set apart for the village idol, and this income was usually supplemented by free-will offerings from the scholars and their parents." Further on he says on page 40, "The outstanding characteristics of the Hindu village community were (1) that they were more secular than spiritual in their instruction and their general character . . . . anything in the nature of direct religious instruction was unknown. When we speak of the democratic character of these early Hindu schools, it is to be understood that they were democratic only in this sense, that they were open not merely to the priestly caste but to all the four superior castes alike. The principal ingredients of the village curriculum were reading, writing, and arithmetic in the vernacular, with occasionally a dose of Sanskrit, Grammar and Poetry."

(6) *Missionary Researches* : Reverend Keay who made careful researches into the matter, has mentioned in some detail the conditions prevailing in India before the British raj. He says in his book *Ancient Indian Education*, *"There was then, before the British Government took over control of education in India, a widespread, popular, indigenous system. It was not confined to one or two provinces, but was found in various parts of India, though some districts were more advanced than others."*

(7) Dr. Leitener in his book *The History of Indigenous*

Education in Punjab on page 14 says, "Of this district the public returns gave 171 schools with 3700 pupils; the first returns of the district officers for 1878-79 gave 302 schools with 5,454 pupils, but when Mr. Miller took the matter in hand, the existence of 161 schools with 7,145 pupils was ascertained." Dr. Leitener was the first Principal of Lahore College and later on he served as Director of Public Instruction in the province.

(8) *Some Hard Facts*: Mr. Howell states, "There is no doubt that from time immemorial indigenous schools have existed, as here alleged. In Bengal alone, in 1835, Mr. Adam estimated their number to be 1,00,000; in Madras, upon an enquiry instituted by Sir Thomas Munro in 1822 the number of schools was reported to be 12,498, containing 1,86,650 scholars; and in Bombay, about the same period, schools of a similar order were found to be scattered all over the presidency. It is much to be regretted that, as each province fell under our rule, the Government did not take advantage of the time when the prestige of conquest or gratitude for delivery from war and oppression were strong in the popular mind, to make the village school an important feature in the village system that was almost everywhere transmitted to us." An inspector of schools of Bengal who was deputed to visit the schools of the Punjab in 1868 remarks in his report, "The indigenous education of India was founded on the sanction of the Shastras, which elevated it into religious duties and conferred dignity on the communities which left not only their municipal, but also in part their revenue and judicial administrations, in the hands of the people themselves, greatly helped to spread education among all the different members of the community. He will see the fruits of the indigenous system in the numberless pathshalas, chatsals and tolls which still overspread the country, and which, however wretched their present condition, prove by their continued existence, in spite of neglect, contempt, and other adverse circumstances of a thousand years, the strong stamina they acquired at their birth. At the present day, the religious sanction is growing

weak, the village communities are nearly gone, manufacturing industry has come to the verge of ruin, the heaviest incidence of taxation is falling upon land, and a foreign language has become the language of court and commerce. The natural incentives to popular education being thus weak, its progress will depend on the efforts of an enlightened Government inclined to compensate to the people for their losses under foreign rule."

(9) *A Contrast* : Punjab was the last province to fall under British rule in the middle of last century. Speaking of literacy in the Punjab before the British rule, Dr. Leitener writes on page 3 of his report, "In backward districts, like that of Hoshiarpur, the *Settlement Report of 1852 shows a school to every 19.65 male inhabitants (adults and non-adults), which may be contrasted with the present proportion of one of Government aided school to every 2818.7 inhabitants*." Writing about the entire province he says, "*Including the since-incorporated Delhi and Hissar Divisions, which now contain 4,476 towns and villages, there were, in 1854 (when an incomplete census was taken), 33,355 towns and villages*, and presumably the same number in 1849. Assuming, at least, the existence of 33,365 mosques, temples, dharamshalas and other sacred edifices in which some teaching was carried on (not to count the 3,372 indigenous secular schools which were ascertained to exist in 1854 or to speak of the large number of schools held in the houses of teachers and giving each 'collegium' of pupils an average attendance of 10), we shall get, at least, 333,550 persons assumed to attend Government and aided schools (according to the last census the total number 'under education' of every kind would only be 157,623). What the state of education was in the time of Ranjit Singh may be inferred from the enumeration of Sikh authors. The list of men distinguished for learning in other denominations is even more lengthy ; *whilst the evidence of our own Administration and Settlement Report (so far as I have been allowed to see them), is conclusive as to the general spread of the elements*

of education in the province."

(10) *Female Education*: Not only the males were literate, but education was general among women also. Dr. Leitener on page 97-98 of his report says, "The Punjabi woman has, however, not only been always more or less educated herself but she has also been an educator of others. In Delhi, for instance, we find that six public schools for girls were kept by Punjabi women, who had emigrated to the South for this purpose."

"In other places, similarly, Punjabi women were to be found as teachers, just as the Guru or the Padha spread his instruction beyond the precincts of a province where he was becoming a drug on the market. Among Mohammedans, very many widows, considered it a sacred duty to teach girls to read the Qoran, and though Delhi, like the rest of the North-Western Provinces, was far behind the Punjab in female education, we find that it had in 1845 numerous schools for girls kept in private houses."

Dr. Leitener, giving his evidence before the Education Commission of 1882 gave interesting details of the indigenous system of education for girls. It will not be out of place to mention a portion of his answer to a question put to him in details as it will throw light on the subject of girls' education in India before the advent of British rule . . . .

"Q. 41. Is there indigenous instruction for girls in the province with which you are acquainted; and, if so, what is its character ?"

"A. 41. Yes, the wives of Maulavis and Bhais, for instance, are generally taught by their husbands and instruct their children upto a certain age in reading and religious duties. The wives of the respectable Mohammedans generally can also read and write. Some of the ladies are good Persian scholars, and in a distinguished Mohammedan family that I know, I have been given to understand that several of the ladies are excellent poets. The position of women is far higher among Mohammedans and Sikhs than is supposed, and there is no prejudice againt their being

educated, provided this can be done without interfering with the privacy of their domestic life. There are *in proportion* as many women that can read in Native States, where there has been no fuss made about female education, as there are in British territory, whilst in the latter also I have no doubt that many respectable women can read and write . . . . There have always been indigenous schools for Sikh females in the districts between the Chenab and the Attock. That the wives of priests should visit females of their community and teach them, is right and proper, but that girls, specially of a marriageable age, should cross bazars in order to assemble in a school, is, I think, objectionable. Much reading of elementary religious books, sewing, embroidery, cooking with extreme care for the household, great neatness, tenderness in trouble, and gentle mediation in family disputes constitute the chief feature of female home rule and education in the better classes, who regard their female relatives with respect and a religious affection of which we have not even the outward profession in Europe."

The reader will thus see, that all over India there was a kind of mass education in the pre-British period ; but with the destruction of the village communities and the impoverishment of the people which were inseparably connected with the British mode of administration of India, educational institutions, which used to flourish in every village of note, became things of the past.

Decay of Education : Dr. Leitener, discussing the passing away of the old system in the Punjab, mentions the following causes : "That the Board of Administration in the Punjab was ordered to resume rent-free tenures of land, even in the case of schools and religious edifices when their endowments were large, thus following the example of the land resumption in Bengal.

"That in consequence most of the endowments of indigenous schools were gradually destroyed. *That the action of the Educational Department of the Punjab inspite of constant reminders, tended to destroy the indigenous schools whilst neglecting its own*

primary schools."

The above quotations taken from English authors and official reports are enough to convince the reader the extent of literacy in old India. The system of education, though different, was complete and very well suited to the needs of the people.

(11) *A Unique System*: Reverend Keays in the closing chapter of his book, on page 169, describes it as follows, "Few countries, and certainly no Western ones, have had systems of education which have had such a long and continuous history with so few modifications as some of the educational systems of India. The long centuries through which they have held sway show that they must have possessed elements which were of value, and that they were not unsuited to the needs of those who developed and adopted them. They produced many great men and earnest seekers after truth, and their output on the intellectual side is by no means inconsiderable. They developed many noble educational thought and practice."

(12) As Howell in his book *Education in British India* says, "*This venerable and benevolent institution of the Hindus is represented to have withstood the shock of revolutions*, and to its operation is ascribed the general intelligence of the natives as scribes and accountants."—(Quoted in *Rural India*)

(13) *Education Was Free*: Chaudhri Mukhtar Singh, ex-M.L.A. and author of *Rural India* writes: "In ancient India one-fourth of the population of India considered it to be their religious duty to impart education to others. Brahmins, though poor, took special delight in giving the best education to their pupils. Throughout their life their aim was to acquire knowledge and to impart it to their fellow brethren. They lived to learn and educate. The reader should bear in mind that for this labour of love and humanity they did not get any fixed salary or remuneration either from the Government or from the village

community. It was considered to be a sin to accept anything for imparting education. Selling of knowledge was considered to be a sacrilege. No doubt they were supported by the village community by grants of free land and by charity given on ceremonial occasions. But it was considered to be very degrading to accept anything in lieu of the work done in a school. The Government would not charge any revenue from the lands in the possession of the teachers. For big universities and higher classes, the Government allowed suitable grants but even there the teachers will not work as servants. They used to teach not because they were paid but because they considered it to be their religious duty to do so. They would accept food and lodging or things required for their physical needs at those universities. Pupils also were not charged any fees. Schools and colleges were not a sort of trade or place of employment to the teacher. The author of "*Village Government in British India*" has admitted this and says in his book, on page 46, 'The tradition of gratuitous instruction is still so strong in the country that the payment of fee in a village school is regarded with somewhat unconcealed prejudice. This probably accounts for the large share taken by occasional presents in the composition of a teacher's income, it being supposed to be a less flagrant violation of the national instinct against paid instruction.'

And now let us have a glimpse at the present educational system.

Sir George Anderson Speaks: In this chapter it is impossible to review exhaustively the present system of education in India, which has produced thousands of unemployed graduates, so I shall give only two quotations from the *Times of India*, a British-owned paper: "London, November 11. That the present system of education in India is producing unemployables, and injuring the rural reconstruction movement there, was the view expressed by Sir George Anderson, formerly Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab, in a paper which he read before the East India

Association at the Caxton Hall, Westminister, yesterday.

"He said : "In England, it would be regarded as an act of lunacy if children were herded together in London for schooling, but such was common practice In India.'

" '*According to a rough estimate,' he said, 'India was now paying annually five crores of rupees for harmful prolongation of literary studies by large numbers of pupils and students.*' "

"While not suggesting that the whole of this gigantic sum could be saved and made available to vocational institutions, he was amazed to be told that while this extravagance continues to be subsidized and encouraged with complacency, vocational training could not be provided on the score of expense. There was little use for the present system; a radical reconstruction was imperative."

(14) *Teachers on $2 per Month :* The reader will be shocked to learn that primary school teachers in several parts of India receive a monthly salary of only two dollars (Rupees six), while the English officers in the Education Department draw a thousand dollars and more per month excluding heavy allowances. What can be expected of starving teachers, is described in the following letter : to the editor of *Times of India.*

"Sir,—It is understood from a reliable source that the District School Board, Thana, recently decided to appoint 60 new teachers on a salary of Rs. 6 per month for each teacher. The District and Taluka Conferences of teachers have reapeatedly passed resolutions requesting the District School Board, Thana, to enhance the present scale of pay which is quite insufficient to meet their expenses, as Thana District being near Bombay, the rates of everything necessary for life are equal to Bombay rates. The District School Board, Thana, instead of considering their legitimate demands has decided to reduce the starting pay from Rs. 12 to Rs. 6. It is really a degradation to an educational institution to adopt such a scheme of starvation wages for teachers, on whose teaching the future life and career of the school boys

depends.

"In the circumstances one cannot expect teachers to give their best when they have always to look for other avenues of income to maintain themselves and their families. I think it is high time for Government to take the matter in hand otherwise it will not be possible to maintain the standard of education and eventually the people will have to suffer the consequences."

The Future : The above two instances could be multiplied by hundreds to show the defects of the modern system of education introduced by our rulers. Dozens of suicides every year by unemployed graduates are the best verdict on this wonderful system. I believe that it is no use complaining of the British Government's stepmotherly treatment in the matter of spreading literacy. One should not expect the exploiters to help a nation to become literate and thus be able to turn out the exploiters. This is amply proved by Major General Sir Lionel Smith's evidence quoted in this chapter. He has frankly confessed that the only way of keeping the people in slavery is to keep them ignorant. The reader might say "But you cannot deny that the British gave you education in English and developed higher education." We do not deny that, but it must be remembered that this education was given only to train assistants and clerks to help in the exploitation of India. The reader can verify this fact from official records, where he will find interesting evidence on the matter. Those further interested may read the story in Major Basu's *Rise of Christian Power in India.*

Moreover most of the "higher education" is carried on by private enterprise, more than 70 per cent, and in this connection, I feel it my duty to express our gratitude to the great enterprise of various American and other missions, who have spent millions of dollars on bringing light to the ignorant masses. Some first-class institutions are run by American missions. Only a free India can develop a national system of education. The world will see how India will wipe out illiteracy in one or two decades after

it has thrown off the foreign yoke. According to Bernard Shaw, India's best talent is now being compelled to devote all its energies to fighting foreign domination, but this great army of talented and self-sacrificing men will undoubtedly achieve wonders in building a "New India" in the near future.

Our future is full of hope.

CHAPTER VIII

TWO CENTURIES OF PLUNDER

"Bear in mind that the commerce of India is the commerce of the world, and he who can exclusively command it is master of Europe"

—Article VIII of the Will of Peter the Great.

"The savings of millions of human beings for centuries, the English seized and took to London, as the Romans had taken the spoils of Greece and Pontus to Italy. What the value of the treasure was no man can estimate, but it must have been many millions of pounds—a vast sum in proportion to the stock of precious metals then owned in Europe."

—Prof. Brooks Adams, in Law of Civilisation and Decay.

"The Golden Sparrow" (as India was known *until the* 18th century), attracted hordes of invaders and plunderers, but never had the economic condition of India been so bankrupt as today, after two centuries of civilized plunder.

The plunder of India by Lord Clive, Warren Hastings and hundreds of Englishmen is a story fresh in the minds of all readers of British history, but the plunder that continues in India today can best be explained in the words of Mahatma Gandhi.

Gandhi's Indictment: A true picture of India's exploitation by our rulers was drawn by Mahatma Gandhi in a letter to the British Viceroy in India. He wrote.

"The tale of India's ruination is not complete without reference to the liabilities incurred in her name. Sufficient has recently been said about these in the public press. It must be the duty of a free India to subject all liabilities to the strictest investiga-

tion and to repudiate those that may be adjudged by an impartial tribunal to be unjust and unfair. These iniquities are maintained in order to carry on a foreign administration, demonstrably the most expensive in the world. Take your own salary. It is over Rs 21,000 ($ 7560) per month besides many other indirect additions. The British Prime Minister gets £5000 per year i. e. over Rs 5400 per month. At the present rate of exchange, you are getting over Rs 700 ($252) per day against India's average income of less than Annas 2 (about 4c) per day. The Prime Minister gets Rs 180 ($64.80) per day against Great Britain's average income of nearly Rs 2 (72c) per day. Thus you are getting much over five thousand times India's average income. On bended knee, I ask you to ponder over this phenomenon. I have, too, taken a personal illustration to drive home the painful truth. I have great regard for you as a man; I do not wish to hurt your feelings. I know that you do not need the salary that you get. Probably the whole of your salary goes for charity, but the system that provided for such an arrangement deserves to be summarily scrapped.

"What is true of the Viceregal salary is true generally of the whole administration. The radical cutting down of the revenue, therefore, depends upon the equally radical reduction in the expenses of the administration. This means a transformation in the scheme of government. This transformation is impossible without independence. Hence, in my opinion, the spontaneous demonstration of the 26th of January in which hundreds of thousands of villagers instinctively participated. To them independence means deliverance from killing weight. *Not one of the great British political parties, it seems to me, is prepared to give up Indian soils, to which Great Britain helps herself from day to day, often in spite of the unanimous opposition of Indian opinion. Nevertheless, if India is to live as a nation, if the slow death by starvation of her people is to stop, some remedy must be found for immediate relief.*"

To have an adequate idea of the continuous exploitation to

which we have been subjected, and of the enormous extent of the economic hold acquired by England over us by legislation and otherwise, it would be necessary to review the whole period of the British occupation of India. I shall however content myself by citing a few important authorities, mostly British, to prove my contention.

(1) *What Edmund Burke Said* : For the details of this early exploitation and treading underfoot of the people of India, read Edmund Burke's impeachment of Warren Hastings. Thus he closed his immortal condemnation of the barbarities of his own people on the soil of India.

"I impeach Warren Hastings for high crimes and misdemeanours. I impeach him in the name of the Commons of the House of Parliament, whose trust he has betrayed. I impeach him in the name of the English nation, whose rights he has trodden underfoot, and whose country he has turned into a desert. Lastly, in the name of every rank, I impeach the common enemy and oppressor of all!"

(2) Mr. Wm. Digby, another Englishman, who lived in India for over twenty years as a member of the Indian Civil Service, gives valuable historical and economic data on the subject of English loot in India, in his book ironically entitled *Prosperous British India*. The book is a scholarly work on history and economics and deserves to be read by all thoughtful students. Mr. Digby shows that :

(i) Since the beginning of the English rule in the country the per capita income of the people of India has been gradually diminishing. The daily per capita income was : 2 pence in 1850 : 1½ pence in 1880; and ¾ penny in 1900.

(ii) That in 1900, proportionately to income, the Indian subject of the British Crown was taxed more than four times higher than his Scottish fellow-subject, and three times higher than his English compeer. He quotes the following figures from the *Statesman's Yearbook*, 1900-1 :

Proportion of Taxation to Income

Scotland with £45 per head, as an average, one-seventeenth.	India (outside 1,000,000 well-to-do people) with the 12s. per head as an average, nearly one-fourth.

(iii) In 1900, thirty-four and one-fifth days' income of every inhabitant of India was carried to England in the form of home charges. "Was ever such a crushing tribute exacted by any conqueror at any period of history ?"

(iv) Since the British have been in the country, famines have been more frequent, more widespread, and more deadly. "In the first quarter of the nineteenth century there were reported only four famines in the country, all of which were local. In the last quarter of the same century there occurred twenty-two famines which were general and spread all over the land."

A great nation was held in slavery, was looted and routed, and yet the world never heard of such a thing as British injustice in India. But, let us ask, how was this great injustice perpetrated, this huge exploitation continued? This question is eminently sane and pertinent, and should be truthfully answered.

The English people were too intelligent not to profit by the experience of past conquerors and rulers over foreign races. As a result, they did not obviously hold India down forcibly, but they kept her down by other means. First, they totally disarmed the people. This procedure prevented armed rebellion, and saved the world news of consequent repressions. In other words. the English did not kill the people of India; they killed their spirit. They robbed them of their land and of their daily meals, and made them submissive and weak.

(3) The English novelist, Thackeray, described the early stages of English rule in India as follows :

"It is very proper that, in England, a great share of the produce of the earth should be appropriated to support certain families in affluence, to produce senators, sages, and heroes for

the service and the defence of the State, or, in other words, that great part of the rent should go to an opulent nobility and gentry, who are to serve their country in Parliament, in the Army and Navy, in the departments of science and liberal professions. The leisure, independence, and high ideas, which the enjoyment of this rent affords has enabled them to raise Britain to the pinnacle of glory. Long may they enjoy it; but in India, that haughty spirit, independence, and deep thought, which the possession of great wealth sometimes gives, ought to be suppressed. They are directly adverse to our power and interest, The nature of things, the past experience of all governments, renders it unnecessary to enlarge on this subject. We do not want generals, statesmen, and legislators; we want industrious husbandmen. . . . ."

"Considered politically, therefore, the general distribution of land, among a number of small proprietors who cannot easily combine against Government, is an object of importance."

This policy was followed in India with unwavering resolution and fatal success.

(4) *Macaulay on Clive's Plunder*: "Lord Clive avowed the arts which he had employed to deceive Omichand, and resolutely said that he was not ashamed of them, and that in the same circumstances, he would again act in the same manner. He admitted that he had received immense sums from Meer Jaffer; but he denied that, in doing so, he had violated any obligation of morality or honour. He laid claim, on the contrary and not without some reason, to the praise of eminent disinterestedness. He described in vivid language the situation in which his victory had placed him; great princes dependent on his pleasure; an opulent city afraid of being given up to plunder; wealthy bankers bidding against each other for his smiles; vaults piled with gold and jewels thrown open to him alone. By God, Mr. Chairman,' he exclaimed. 'at this moment I stand astonished at my own moderation.' "

(5) *"Gold Their Watchword"* : "When the East India Company attained political supremacy in India, they did not bestow any thought on the education of the inhabitants of their dominions. Gold was their watchword. Every one of their servants who came out to India tried to enrich himself as quickly as possible at the expense of the children of the soil. It was on this account that Burke described them as 'birds of pray and passage' in India. Regarding this class of the British sojourners in India, Burke said :

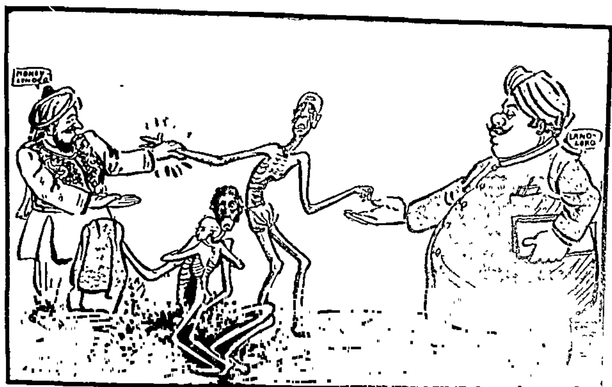
" 'Young Magistrates who undertake the government and spoilation of India, animated with all the avarice of age, and all the impetuosity of youth, they roll in one after another, wave after wave ; and there is nothing before the eyes of the natives but an endless hopeless prospect of new flights of birds of prey and passage, with appetite continually renewing for a food that is continually wasting. Their prey is lodged in England, and the cries of India are given to seas and winds, to be blown about, in every breaking up of the monsoon, over a remote and unhearing ocean.' "

" 'Here (in England) the manufacturer and husbandman will bless the just and punctual hand that in India has torn the cloth from the loom, or wrested the scanty portion of rice and salt from the peasent of Bengal, or wrung from him the very opium in which he forgot his oppression and his oppressors.' "—*History of Indian Education by B. D. Basu.*

(6) *According to Herbert Spencer* : "The Anglo-Indians of the last century—"birds of prey and passage," as they were styled by Burke—showed themselves only a shade less cruel than their prototypes of Peru and Mexico. *Imagine how black must have been their deeds, when even the Directors of the Company admitted that the vast fortunes acquired in the inland trade have been obtained by scenes of the most tyrannical and oppressive conduct that was ever known in any age or country.*"

"These residents of Britain after making their fortunes retired

THE TRAGEDY OF BRITISH RULE



PROSPEROUS INDIAN PEASANTS

In the budget-discussion, Sir George Schuster argued that Indian ryots were "playing up well", while others asked him to visit the villages. Sir Leslie Hudson said : I fear there is little room for complacency in the matter and that the reverse state of affairs may actually

to England, where they were known as 'Indian Nabobs.'"

—*History of Indian Education.*

(7) *Catastrophe*: "Even now, it is not too late. Announce to the world their determination to initiate a policy of monetary reform by allowing the over-rated rupee to adjust itself to the requirements of foreign trade, and by *re-opening Indian Mints* to the free coinage of silver, and Government could go a long way towards saving India economically, and so, politically, as *well* as socially. But continue the present attitude of looking forward resignedly towards a possible engulfment in the word-maelstrom of broken confidence and falling prices, and, as the late Railway Member half anticipated, India WILL most probably be involved in a common catastrophe. In spite of the present burst of money-mongering in the chief stock markets of the world, there is not a sign of any real revival of genuine commerce. Commodities are 'frozen,' and only hand-to-mouth trade is passing here and there. Both railways and shipping are semi-paralysed and very largely unemployed. Surely it is time for Government to move openly."—*Sir Montagu Webb.*

(8) *Sir William Hunter*, former member of the Viceroy's Council, in a speech in 1875 said :—

"The Government assessment does not leave enough food to the cultivator to support himself and his family throughout the year."

(9) *Do You Know*—that according to last year's report the amount of orders placed in England for the supply of Indian stores was £ 9,32,869 as against £ 45,374 for all other countries.

—*The Hindustan Times.*

And read the sequel to these two centuries of plunder.

(10) *Blood of the Poor*: Al Carthill's description of the Indian villager :

"The whole of India is divided into villages. There are

hundreds of thousands of them. A cluster of mud huts, a temple or two, some old trees, a well; an open space in the centre is the nucleus. Round about lie the arable pasture and waste of the village. Here lives and dies the peasant. *The real Indian nation is here, that hardy patient folk whose labour pays the taxes, and whose blood has built up the Empire and kept the gates.*"

(11) *Says Mr. J. S. Cotton*: "If the security of British rule has allowed the people to increase, it does not follow that it has promoted the general prosperity. That could only be done in one of two ways—either by producing a distinct rise in the standard of living among the lowest classes or by diverting a considerable section of the people from the sole occupation of agriculture. Neither of these things has been done. Competent authorities indeed are of the opinion that the condition of the lowest classes has become worse under the British rule."

(12) *Mr. A. O. Hume*, Secretary to the Government of India in the Agricultural Department, wrote in 1880 :—

"Except in very good seasons, multitudes for months every year cannot get sufficient food for themselves and family."

(13) *Sir Auckland Colvin*, once a Finance Minister in India, describes the tax-paying community as made up in the main of :

"Men whose income at best is barely sufficient to afford them the sustenance necessary to support life, living as they do upon bare necessities."

(14) *Mr. Harrington*, quotes Mr. Bennett, the compiler of the *Oudh Gazetteer*, an officer whom he calls wholly free from pessimism as to the condition of the lowest castes of Oudh :—

"The lowest depths of misery and degradation are reached by the Koris and Chamars whom he describes as always on the verge of starvation. These represent from 10 to 11 per cent of

the population of Oudh. Mr. Harrington then quotes from papers he himself contributed to the *Pioneer* in 1876 under the heading 'Oudh Affairs' : 'It has been calculated that about 60 per cent of the entire native population are sunk in such abject poverty that, unless the small earnings of child labour are added to the scanty stock by which the family is kept alive, some members would starve.'

(15) *Mr. A. J. Lawrence,* the Commissioner of the Allahabad Division who retired in 1891, reported :

"I believe there is very little between poorer classes of the people and semi-starvation, but where is the remedy ?"

(16) *Bankruptcy of India* : H. M. Hyndman in *Bankruptcy of India* page 152 : "Even as we look on, India is becoming feebler and feebler. The very life-blood of the great multitude under our rule is slowly, yet ever faster, ebbing away."

(17) *Mr. W. S. Lilly* in his book of India and its problems says : "The test of a people's prosperity is not the extension of exports, the multiplication of manufacturers or other industries, or the construction of cities. No, a prosperous country is one in which the great mass of the inhabitants are able to produce with moderate toil, what is necessary for living human lives, of frugal and assured comfort. Judged by this criterion, can India be called prosperous ? Comfort, of course is a relative term. In a tropical country like India, the standard is very low. Little clothing is required ; simple diet suffices. An unfailing well full of water, a plot of land, and a bit of orchard—these will satisfy his desire. If needed, you add the cattle needful to him. Such is the Ryot's ideal—very few realise it. Millions of peasants in India are struggling to live on half an acre. Their existence is a constant struggling with starvation, ending too often in defeat. Their difficulty is not to live human lives, lives up to the level of their poor standard of comfort, but to live at all, and not die.

We may well say that in India, except in the irrigated tracts, famine is chronic endemic."

(18) *Tyranny of Imperial Preference*: *"Imperial preference is a means of strengthening the ties amongst a Commonwealth of Free Nations . . . . Dominions conceded the principle of preference after they had attained full responsible government consistent with their own interest and not injurious to themselves . . . . The principle of Imperial Preference implies the uncontrolled power of initiating, granting, varying, and withdrawing preference from time to time, consistently with each country's interest on lines which are not injurious to itself. India must, therefore, possess the same supreme powers as are enjoyed by the Dominions before Imperial preference can become for her a matter of practical politics."—Fiscal Commission's Report.*

"A scheme of Imperial preference of India is economically detrimental, politically inexpedient, and financially ruinous." —Indian Economic Society.

(19) *An American Newspaper-woman's View of Commercial Gains of England from India*: When Englishmen are asked why it is that they continue to keep India in subjection, they always speak of the "white man's burden" or they give such a reply as that of Sir Eldon Gorst, Governor of Egypt, in 1910:

"British policy in Egypt differs in no way from that followed by Great Britain all over the world towards countries under her rule: namely, to place before all else the welfare of their populations."

But any superficial investigation into the real reasons put a different light on England's reason for fighting for the right to carry the terrible burden of Empire, with India as its central pillar, and her reason for subjecting nation after nation and waging war after war for the privilege of carrying the "white man's burden."

The gains of England from India can be listed under three general heads:

1. Commercial.
2. Political and military.
3. Moral, intellectual and social.

The outstanding fact about India is her enormous resources in minerals, vegetable and plant raw material. She has the monopoly of the world's jute ; she furnished 51 per cent of the wheat production of the Empire ; 58 per cent of the tea ; 73 per cent of the coffee ; almost all the cotton ; she is one of the greatest rice producing lands on earth and one of the heaviest exporters. She is rich in minerals and in coal. If left to herself, she could feed herself many times over and rid the land of the famines which carry off millions of the population each year. But, for the maintenance of English industries, it is necessary for England to control India's raw materials and at the same time the political power to make the Indian market exclusively her own for the manufactured goods which she turns out.

England's share of the entire Indian trade is 64 per cent. These are figures of direct trade, or so-called legitimate commerce. They are independent of the interest and dividends paid upon English investments in India, the proceeds of which supply an income to hundreds of thousands of English families. In 1913, the capital owned exclusively by Englishmen in India was £ 35 billion sterling.

For all industrial undertakings in India, the capital is raised in London, and all orders for railway requisites, which are a Government monopoly, are placed almost exclusively with English manufacturers, although English goods are much more expensive and in many cases inferior to the manufactures of Germany and other countries.

The entire gold reserve of India is deposited in the Bank of England, and as England has the pound standard, and as she controls the Indian money market which has a silver currency, she derives enormous profits each year by manipulations in the value of the silver rupee compared to the gold standard. (This was written in 1925).

In dealing with the industrial and commercial profits, we are not talking of the amount of the Indian revenues which are spent on the civil service or the army. The civil service leads to a tremendous drain of India's resources to England. England maintains for the administration of India a civil service, all higher posts of which are manned by Englishmen at enormous salaries. Every one of these Englishmen, after a certain period of service, returns home on a life's pension. This furnishes a part of the tremendous drain on India which alone amounts to £ 20 million. It is estimated by Sir John Campbell that another sum equal to this is sent by private remittances by Englishmen to their families in England.

This drain, therefore, amounts to the enormous sum of approximately £ 40 million a year, which is really a tribute paid by India to England, and impoverishes the people because there is no return whatsoever. Proportionately, the figure means much more in India than it would, here in Europe. For in India, the average income of the population is about £ 4 per head per year. For a people having such a low standard of living it is not easy to have to meet an annual drain of £ 40 million per year. This systematic flow of money has continued for at least 60 years, and does not take into account the plunder of the East India Company before that time. But it gives some idea of the continual impoverishment of the Indian people and of the tremendous prosperity of England; for this sum, if distributed over the entire population of England, would give *one pound* sterling per head to each Englishman. What India means to England in economic strength is, however, best summed up in the words of Prof. A. Demangeon of the Sorbonne University of Paris in his book *America and the Race for World Dominion*:

"India is the typical colony for exploitation. Immensely rich and thickly populated, she represents for her masters at once a fortune and a defence. It is through India that the British Empire assures her destiny. India is the halting place of British commerce to the Far East. India gives the fleet places of support

for the sea-route. India recruits for the Army legions of high-spirited soldiers ; native contingents fight for Great Britain in China and South Africa. During the Great War, India supplied more than a million men of whom more than 100,000 were killed. India provides Great Britain an enormous market ; two-thirds of her importations come from English sources ; she furnishes 51 per cent of the wheat production of the Empire, 58 per cent of the tea, 73 per eent of the coffee, almost all the cotton. An immense British capital is invested in Indian mines, factories, plantations, railways and irrigation works. *India pays the interest* on probably 350 million pounds sterling. India keeps busy an army of British officials whose salaries she pays and whose savings go every year to Great Britain. She pours into British coffers *the interest on her public debt, the pensions of old officials, the* governmental expenses of her administration. More than 30 million pounds sterling a year is the estimate of the sums that India pays in the United Kingdom to her creditors, her stockholders, and officials. At that we do not know how much she brings to the merchants who trade with her and the shippers who transport her goods. Never was the term exploitation better applied."

England's Military Gain from India : As stated, England maintains an English and Indian army in India ; of the expected revenue of India for the year 1923-24 which will amount (to about £ 133 million pounds sterling, something like £ 42 million pounds sterling is estimated for military expenditure. This amount is larger than the military and naval expenditure of Japan for the same period. Yet with these figures in mind, the idea is prevalent that England is not militaristic, but that she has but a small standing army and no compulsory military service. No one thinks of India as the centre of British militarism. Yet the Indian army is always kept on a war footing, and, according to the statement of Lord Curzon, India is always ready for war and at a moment's notice the Indian army may be hurled against any point in Asia or Africa. But Germany learned in the late War that this mer-

cenary Indian army was ready not only to be hurled against any part of Asia or Africa, but against free and independent nations in Europe as well.

The period of service for English soldiers in India is limited to short terms, raw recruits are sent out to India and return to England as trained men who are put into the reserves. So that, within a few years, hundreds of thousands of Englishmen are actively prepared for military service. Even the cost of the transport of these British recruits to and from India is taken out of Indian revenues.

England's Moral Gain from India's Subjection: It is not difficult to imagine what this exploitation of India means to India. Generation after generation of Indians have known only serfdom and an unendurable poverty which has dragged the annual length of life down to 23.5 years, whereas in Europe it is 45. On the other hand, there have been generations and generations in England, from the early 18th century to the present time, receiving wealth from India which is spread in over-growing social circles until it has raised England's intellectual and economic life to a fairly high level. The English wealth has been built upon this exploitation. The entire middle and upper classes have thus acquired the leisure that is necessary for culture and for higher education. Their poets stand upon the prostrate body of India and sing of freedom and liberty. Their statesmen praise the beauty of the Empire as worms praise the beauty of a decaying corpse. Their dramatists produce works of such high quality that the world honours them. The necessity of retaining India as the central pillar of the Empire is so much a part of the consciousness of Englishmen that it pervades the thought of the English working class. This was very evident under the Ministry of Ramsay MacDonald, when some of the most repressive legislation in India came into being. And it can be seen in the statement of a leading English Communist who remarked to an Indian: "We English Communists will not turn the Indian working class over

to the Indian bourgeoisie." Thus it is clear that eventually the English Communists hope to carry the "white man's burden." The attitude of the Independent Labour Party, which is supposed to be "left" in its politics, is best summed up in the words of Mr. A. Fenner Brockway, in an official letter to a German organisation :

"I do not think that the Labour Government would be prepared to let India and Ireland leave the Empire. I think the Independent Labour Party would be ready *if* these countries *wished* to leave. I do not think that there has been a real indication that Ireland or India wish to be totally independent of Great Britain."

America and India : *The Message of India*, drew an excellent contrast between America and India in the matter of salaries :

"India pays higher salaries than any other country." Why? "The British have the right to fix their own salaries, and they never make the mistake of fixing them too low." Let us compare the Indian Government with the United States, the richest country in the world to-day : "India spends 93.7% on debts, military and administrative expenses, as against 48.8% spent by America. The money thus spent by India largely goes out of the country to England ; what is thus spent in America remains in the country. Thus, the richest country in the world spends about half of what India, the poorest country, spends on administration."

The land tax rate, very often, is from 60 to 80 per cent of the total gross productions of the land ; that is why Mahatma Gandhi wanted that tax be reduced to 50 per cent.

The average drain is over Rs. 450,000,000 or over $ 150,000,000 a year, or in the last 120 years Rs. 54,000,000,000 or $ 18,000,000,000. These are the figures of the Indian Government record. This is why India is poor and she revolts. England keeps a big army in India "and sequestrates the major portion of her (India)

revenues to maintain this army to hold India in subjection, and to fight the battles of the British Empire in other lands."

There are $ 18,508,385 pension charges for the I.C.S. men and military officers. In the House of Commons, replying to questions, Mr. Wedgewood Benn said that 4,362 military officers in Britain drew pensions chargeable to Indian revenues during the year ending March 31, 1929 ; including officers of the I.M.S., the Royal Indian Marine and the late Indian Navy. The amounts paid during the year for pensions totalled £ 2,683,958 sterling (Over $ 13,000,000).

There were 3,136 pensions issued in Britain to the retired Indian Civilians during the year ending March 31, 1929, the amounts of which totalled £ 1,617,719 sterling (Over $ 8,000,000).

England's Milch Cow : Here is one of the most honest admissions of the "Loot of India," by an English imperialist, Mr. A.E. Duchesne writes in his book *Democracy and Empire* :

"*Britain has need of India. If it had not been for India, the British Empire had never been—at any rate in its present form. India has supplied from Elizabeth's reign onwards, precisely that stimulus of which our country has stood in need. To the desire to reach India is due to our maritime enterprise and discovery. To the struggle to obtain India is due to our naval and military supremacy as against Holland and France. To our trade with India is due to much of our past and present prosperity and wealth. Without India, Lancashire were bankrupt. To our retention of India is due our present Imperial prestige. To our training in and by India, is due to our practical sagacity as administrators.*"

Reader, it is a sad tale indeed, let us stop here. Hardly any one needs more proof about "Two Centuries of Plunder." Those who wish to know more about it are referred to William Digley's *Prosperous British India* and Major B. D. Basu's *Rise of Christian Power in India.*

CHAPTER IX

MERE SKELETONS

"The Indians do not live but only exist."

—An English Author.

"If a country be found possessing a most fertile soil and capable of bearing every variety of produce, yet notwithstanding, the people are in a state of extreme destitution and suffering, the chances are there is some fundamental error in the Government of that country."—John Bright.

"Empty stomachs are the greatest obstacle to progress in India"—Doctor Harold H. Mann.

"Over 250 millions of the Indian people are hungry from the day they are born till the day they die."

— The Daily Herald, London.

India, once the richest country in the world is a country of mere skeletons today. Americans know it as the country of palaces, princes and jewels, but it is no exaggeration to say that India under British rule is a country of empty stomachs, mud huts and pennyless masses.

Empty stomachs are the best hosts for all diseases and with the blessings of British rule we have welcomed plague, cholera, influenza and scores of other epidemics unheard of in the history of India. An abnormally heavy death rate, the highest infant mortality (187 per thousand) and the shortest span of life are natural consequences of starvation. (See "Facts & Figures Speak" in Appendix I).

An Underfed Race : The Indian people are terribly underfed today. According to Mr. Zutshi, either one of every three individuals must go hungry ; or all must eat only one out of every

three meals necessary for him. This is the condition which accounts for the progressive deterioration of the Indian people in physique and energy. The circle of their misery is complete. The Indian people cannot produce enough to keep their souls and bodies together—not to speak of providing other comforts of life—because they border on the verge of starvation and are therefore lacking in strength and energy.

And yet the champions of British rule in India have maintained invariably that it has been an untold blessing to India; that India is prosperous and contented; and that *Pax Britannica* is largely responsible for better sanitation, peace, increased efficiency of hospitals in saving lives, and better provisions against famine. It is indeed the irony of fate that in this land of starvation and destitution these champions should see signs of amazing wealth. It is easily conceivable why they should refuse to recognize the fact that it is *Pax Britannica* which has fastened upon a country—which cannot even feed its own people on the lowest standard—an enormous burden of taxes, Home Charges, heavy administration costs, and what not—that only go to make the life of the people progressively more miserable by driving them to the edge of pitiless destitution, and by sucking the very lifeblood of the country

Let me quote here a few persons of authority who have studied the real conditions in India so as to unfold the true India to which the champions of *Pax Britannica* point with pride.

(1) The Late Doctor Sunderland in his book, *India, America and World Brotherhood*, wrote: "As a matter of fact famines are really perpetual in India... Even when the rains are plentiful and crops are good, there is always famine somewhere in the land...... When epidemics appear, such as plague and influenza, depletion from life-long starvation is the main cause of the terrible mortality."

(2) *High Official's Testimony*: Sir Charles Elliot, for long the Chief Commissioner of Assam, says: "Half the agricultural

population do not know from half year's end to another what it is to have a full meal."

(3) Said the late Hon. Gokhale, "From 60,000,000 to 70,000,000 of the people in India do not know how is to have their hunger satisfied even once in the year?" However the champions of British rule may try to deceive people in India and outside it by gilding the pill, this solitary fact remains true, in the words of John Bright, "If a country be found possessing a most fertile soil and capable of bearing every variety of produce, yet notwithstanding, the people are in a state of extreme destitution and suffering, the chances are there is some fundamental error in the government of that country."

(4) *Official Confessions:* It is unnecessary to seek the aid of statistics to prove the extreme poverty of the bulk of the Indian population. Two official admissions will suffice. In the report on Constitutional Reforms, popularly known as the Montagu Chelmsford Report, the signatories, the then Secretary of State and the then Governor-General, have stated that "the immense masses of the people are poor, ignorant, and helpless far behind the standard of Europe." (Section 132).

(5) Again, in the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform, Vol. I Part I page 2, it is said of the inhabitants of India that their "average standard of living is low and can scarcely be compared even with that of the more backward countries of Europe. Literacy is rare outside urban areas, and even in these the number of literates bear but a small proportion to the total population."

(6) *4 Cents a Day:* Believe it or not, the average income of an Indian after two centuries of British rule is only 4 cents per day, nearly 1/50th of the average income of an American (see Chart No. 7 in the Appendix entitled "Facts & Figures Speak"). To

prove my contention I will quote the most authoritative publications of the Government of India.

(7) In 1932, a Royal Commission known as the Simon Commission consisting of Englishmen alone expressed an opinion which can in no way be considered prejudicial to the Government. In their report on page 334 they describe the economic condition of the people of India as follows :—

"The depth of poverty, the pervading presence of which cannot escape notice is not so easily realised. There has been no official estimate of income per head since 1912 when Lord Curzon stated in his budget speech that the average income per inhabitant of British India has been estimated at 30 rupees a year. Since the war several European Professors of Economics have tried to make an estimate. One of them has estimated the income per head of British India at 107 rupees in 1920-21, and at Rs. 116 in 1921-22; a second has arrived at a figure for the whole of India at 74 rupees, while the third confining himself to Madras alone for 1919-20 calculated it at 102 rupees. Such estimates are based on inadequate data on account of the unsatisfactory nature of the material available. Even if the most optimistic of the above estimates is adopted the result is that the average income in India per head in 1922 was equivalent at the prevailing rate of exchange to less than £ 8, while the corresponding figure for Great Britain was £ 95."

Thus in 1931 according to the Simon Commission Report, the income per head of an Indian was 1/12th of the income of an Englishman. Prices since then have considerably gone down and the income per head would be much lower than that mentioned by the Royal Commission. One should also observe that the above income per head quoted by the Commission includes the income of very rich people in the country and as admitted by the Commission itself these figures cannot form reliable data for calculating the income of the peasant class.

(8) The Government of India recently appointed a Banking Enquiry Committee which went into the questions relating to economic conditions of the people. The Central Committee published their report in 1931 and observed as follows :—"The income of the agricultural population per head when assessed will be much smaller. From the reports of the Provincial Committees and other published statistical information, the total gross value of the annual agricultural produce would work out to about Rs. 1,200 crores on the basis of the 1928 price levels. On this basis and taking into consideration the probable income from certain subsidiary occupations estimated at 20 per cent of the agricultural income, and ignoring the rise in population in the last decade and the fall in prices since 1928, the average does not work out at a higher figure than about Rs. 42 or a little over £ 3 a year. Thus the general poverty of the agricultural classes is a matter which is beyond dispute."

According to this calculation income is Rs. 3/8/— per head or less than 2 as. a day. It is most surprising as to how a man can manage to live on Rs. 3/8/— a month. Even grain worth Rs. 3/8/—would not be sufficient to ward off starvation.

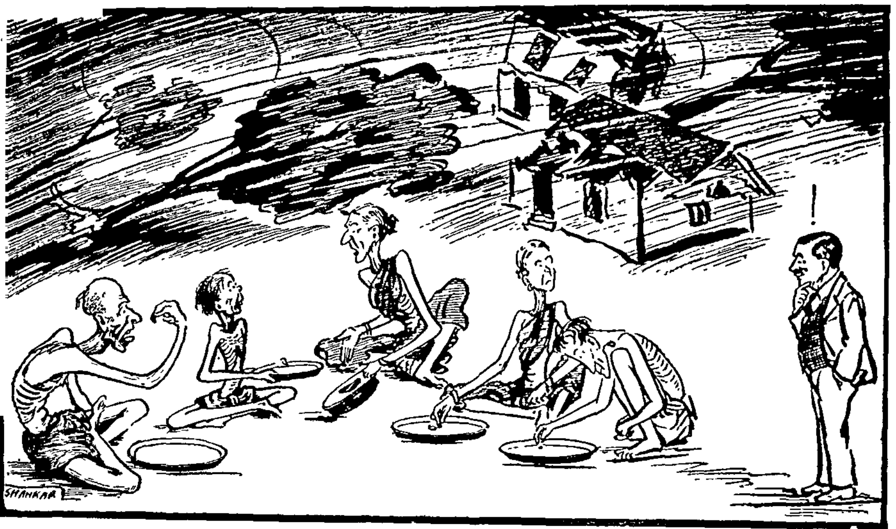
(9) *The Empty Stomach* : Mr. S. Kesava Iyenger an Indian author of eminence in his book *Studies in Indian Rural Economics* has put the condition of the Indian peasant in a nutshell. He remarks, "The rural population seemed to try to stifle appetite rather than to meet it properly, whether a commodity consumed was nutritious and health-giving was hardly considered. Many made gruel in the morning, it meant less grain consumption. Rice beer was a universal food drink prepared at home with the same idea of managing with as small amount of food grain as possible." An English author has also rightly stated, "They do not live but only exist." A close study of the economic position of the cultivator in India has clearly shown that the Indian cultivator is the poorest man on the surface of the globe".—*Rural India.*

(10) Recently Dr. Harold H. Mann, the Director of Agriculture of Bombay, while retiring from service said : "Little could be done on an extensive scale until the Government and the social reformers recognised that the secret of the whole prosperity of the agricultural population was the filling of their stomachs. The empty stomach was the greatest obstacle to progress in India, and he wished to emphasise before he left the country that all efforts should ultimately be concentrated on filling the stomachs of the people." (*The People* Oct. 1928). Further he stated "My last message to the people of this land, to all social workers and to those in charge of the administration is to devise means whereby the cultivators might be given sufficient food."

(11) Another English gentleman, Arnold Lupton, in his book *Happy India* has very pathetically described the condition of the cultivators in the following words : "His mansion is a mud hut with a roof of stick and palm leaves ; his bedstead, if he has one, consists of twisted sticks which raise his mattress, six inches from the ground. He has no door or windows to his hut. He has a little fire place and cooking place outside. The sofa upon which he can recline in leisure moments is made of mud outside his sleeping chamber. He has one garment round his loins and he has no other garment that he can wear whilst he is washing that one garment. He neither smokes nor drinks nor reads the newspaper ; he goes to no entertainments. His religion teaches him humility and contentment, and so he lives contentedly until starvation lays him on his back."

(12) The same is the opinion of the author of the well-known book *India and its Problems* page 284-5 :—"Millions of peasants in India are struggling to live on half an acre. Their existence is a constant struggle with starvation, ending too often in defeat. Their difficulty is not to live human lives :—lives up to the level of their poor standard of comfort—but to live at all,

MERE SKELETONS



Addressing the Indian Economic Conference, Sir George Schuster expressed surprise that "the country seemed to maintain a certain standard of minimum consumption in spite of earthquakes."

and not die, we may well say that in India, except in the irrigated tracts, famine is chronic and epidemic."

(13) Some days back a member of the English Parliament Mr. A.A. Purcell, writing in the *Daily Herald* said: "One can however make certain definite statements that may enable others to visualise India in broad outlines. One can say, for instance, that of India's population the overwhelming majority are hungry from the day they are born till the day they die.

"As I have already said over two hundred and fifty millions of the Indian people are hungry all their lives, hungry with a gnawing, physical hunger. They do not get even enough rice to satisfy this hunger. All the time there are thousands who must be dying from sheer, slow, agonising, torturing starvation." "From travels about India I have come back with this fixed certitude in my mind looming large and terrifying over and above all other matters and problems—the trouble with India is a stomach trouble, basically, primarily. All the politics, constitutional issues, castes and religious questions fade into insignificance beside this terrible economic problem. I would give anything to know that all these men, women and children had just a few extra grains of rice each day. A penny a day increase in the family income would mean a tremendous improvement in the standard of living of the Indian toiler."

(14) *High Official's View:* Sir John Megaw, a former Director-General of the Indian Medical Service, inquired through the medical officers into the health and food of the population of all-India and arrived at the general conclusion that about 39 per cent are well-nourished, 41 per cent poorly nourished and 20 per cent very badly nourished.

(15) Now mark the effects of this malnutrition on the health of the "future nation" (our young men). I quote from a leading article in the *A. B. Patrika* of Calcutta.

"C 3 Boys": "The Annual Report on School Medical Inspection in Government and Government-aided Secondary Schools in Calcutta for the Year 1934-35, which has just been issued by the Government of Bengal, discloses a very lamentable state of affairs. Dr. Sudhir Bose, M.B. and Dr. Manindra C. Dutt, M.B., who were entrusted with the task of medical inspection, have made some very useful suggestions in their survey. Besides these two gentlemen, another medical man joined them in December 1934. We understand that the medical inspection was confined to only about 30 Government and Government-aided schools in Calcutta with about 8,000 students in the charge of the health inspectors. Of 5,160 students examined in course of the year under report, 2,430 (about 47 per cent) had defects of some sort or other. The diseases from which the students suffered were those of the eye, the throat and of the digestive system. About 30 per cent of the boys, that is 1,705, suffered from eye defects, about 23 per cent, that is 1,203, had throat troubles, 570 students, (11 per cent) had teeth troubles and 860 students (about 10 per cent of the total number of boys) suffered from indigestion Another fact that has to be borne in mind in this connection is that about *30 per cent of the boys examined (1,705) suffered from malnutrition.*"

These figures reveal the conditions in the second city in the British Empire—imagine the condition of villagers, who are admittedly hungry from birth to death.

(16) *Who Brought the Plague* ? Here is a Rotarian's compliment to British rule.

"The meeting of the Far Eastern Association of Tropical Medicine this year in Calcutta has awakened a sudden interest in health conditions prevailing in India. In the course of an address delivered at the Rotary Club, Col. D. J. Graham described India as one of the world reservoirs of infection and the main reservoir of infection for plague and cholera. The death rate in India, Dr. Graham further remarked, was twice that of

England and Wales; infantile mortality rate was nearly two and a half times that of England and Wales and nearly four and a half times that of New Zealand. In his inaugural address before the Tropical Medicine Congress the Bengal Governor made a frantic attempt to save his Government from the dire implications of these hard facts. *It is during British rule that cholera and plague first made their appearance in India, but no systematic efforts have ever been made to save the people from the inroads of these diseases.*"

—*Calcutta Forward*, Dec. 8, 1927.

I intended to quote about two dozen more official accounts of the ways in which our health is deteriorating from day to day, but the printer says, "Stop, no more room," and the reader must therefore be content with the official facts and figures given in the Appendix.

CHAPTER X

DUMB MILLIONS

"But come back to these mud huts. Take a look at the beings that dwell therein. Note their bony frames and gaunt faces : these would be enough, but stay long enough to notice their expressions of fixed melancholy. They seem incapable of laughter. I think a happy child would be so rare among them, he would be viewed as a portent. Grave-faced and sombre little men and women bring up these children. Who ever saw Indian children playing, or romping, or running with laughter after a kite or a ball? Kipling says they are a sad-faced lot. They are, but Kipling does not inquire why they are sad. Neither does any other Englishman care. It is so because it is so. Let us drive on to the gymkhana."

"And if the children are sad that should be merry, having tasted so little as yet of the bitterness of life, what shall be said of these mournful women, young or old?"

—*Charles Edward Russell*

It is an irony of fate that whenever the question of Indian independence is raised in the British Parliament, an influential section of the house sings in chorus "Oh, but we can't leave the Dumb Millions to the mercy of Indian politicians." These self-appointed trustees of our dumb millions forget that the worst sufferers under the British rule are the very same millions, whose trusteeship they claim [to have acquired from the Almighty, who sits in the seventh heaven. The Indian peasantry, once the happiest and most prosperous in the world has been reduced to the most miserable in the world because of cruel taxation, the introduction of "English landlordism" and the step-motherly treatment of foreign rulers. The Indian labourer

CALL FROM THE VILLAGE



A complete scheme for the expansion of telephones and telegraph[illegible] villages, has been drawn up as part of the Gover[illegible]ent of India's rural uplift sch[illegible]

[illegible] 'NDUSTAN TIMES

is the most ill-paid in the world and is treated in a most inhuman manner, especially by the English planters. Those British newspapers, which protest loudly about cheap labour in Japan entirely forget that young boys are paid 3 cents per day in India in the British tea plantations, and dozens of them die of ruptured spleens by the soft touch of the English planter's shoe. (I do not want to go into gruesome details of this sad story here).

In the present chapter I want to acquaint the reader with the condition of rural areas in India and the treatment that the Government accords to the peasants. Time was, not so long ago, when our villages were self-contained little units, which though cut off from contact with urban centres, furnished food and other necessaries of life for their population. The weaver, the cobbler, the smith and a whole host of other small-scale industrial workers earned their living in the villages, and though they might not have had some of the amenities which the towns supplied to dwellers within their areas, they lived a life of contentment and health. Cultural contacts with the rest of India were supplied by the itinerant Kirtankars and Bhagavatars. Co-operative efforts helped them to maintain themselves in comparative comfort and safety, and contribute their share of revenue for the upkeep of the government. Rulers, too, fully recognized the real value of the villages as the backbone of the country, and allowed them the fullest freedom to manage their own affairs, and to safeguard their own small industries. With the coming of a centralized system of administration, and the consequent transfer of interest to urban centres, the villages entered on a period of decay. Their life was dislocated, and their little industries deteriorated. The men who for so long were able to supplement their income from land by their earnings from one or other of the village industries, found themselves stranded. The market for their handicrafts dwindled, owing to the exodus to the towns and the new fashions which that brought in. Large-scale industrialists from the West completed the disintegration by importing manufactured articles which they were able to sell at prices

below those at which the villagers could supply them.

That the change was fraught with dangerous consequences was foreseen by thinkers and public men in India. They tried to make the Government realize the seriousness of the situation. But the bureaucracy, interested primarily in their revenues, paid little or no attention to them. The Congress there upon resolved to turn their attention to the reconstruction of rural areas and the resuscitation of their dying crafts and industries. The Government found themselves faced with the alternative of attending to the needs of the countryside, or allowing the Congress to win rural India over to their side. The recent interest in rural reconstruction, which Government departments have been displaying, is a direct result of this.

The Peasant Viceroy: The new Viceroy is being romantically called the "peasant Viceroy." Beware of the Greeks when they come bearing gifts! The peasants of India were backbone of the non-cooperative movement and they looked forward to a national India for relief of their misery. That the British Government sent out a Viceroy who is said to have once seen a cow and a plough, or who knows that rice grows above the ground instead of being a root, was nothing more nor less than an attempt of the British Government to divorce the Indian peasants from the national movement and to bind them in allegiance to foreign autocracy.

The truth about "Uplift": It is true the new Viceroy is taking an interest in rural areas and he deserves thanks, but the following two stories will reveal the truth of this great mission. I quote from a non-Congress paper, the *Patrika*.

"An esteemed correspondent thus writes to us about the Viceroy's visit to Ranchi:

"Lord Linlithgow is here. He is visiting some villages. A lot of rehearsal has preceded his arrival here and certain agriculturists have been selected to be presented to him and to say

certain nice things. This is how the knowledge of the agriculturists' condition is obtained! We had a very select 'reception' party yesterday afternoon .... I thought there would be some frank and friendly talks with most of us—and I was prepared to tell *him certain things on the lines* of your comments in the *Patrika* on the bull-milk campaign. But it all ended with the shaking of hands and tea and little chit-chats with Rajas and Maharajas. I must say, however, that Lord Linlithgow looked pensive.

"We make no apology for quoting that rather long extract. It describes not what happened in an isolated case at Ranchi; it *is a typical description of* what takes place whenever big officials condescend to pay a visit to the interior with a view to seeing things with their own eyes. There is windowdressing everywhere; what is unclean and ugly, what bears the marks of poverty and disease is studiously kept out of the path of the great personages and the latter are allowed to see only what is specially provided for them—necessarily the rich and the beautiful side *of things.* The *object of the tour is* thus *in most* cases frustrated for the persons in authority—who could, if they liked, bring about a substantial improvement in the condition of the people—are ganerally left with an entirely wrong and even misleading idea of the actual state of things. We do not know if Lord Linlithgow has been shephered by astute officials in the same way throughout his tour. If so, one can easily imagine the real nature of the knowledge of the agriculturists' condition which His Excellency has obtained."

How Money Is Spent: And here is another instance of how large sums alloted for "rural uplift" are being wasted on carrying on "loyalty propaganda, through special trains." "The following is an official translation of one of the songs which the demonstration train has been trying during the last several months to popularize in the villages of the Punjab :—

How benevolent is British Government,

It has saved us from ignorance and opened thousands of schools.
It has put us on the road to knowledge and awakened noble aspirations.
It protects freedom.
Helps us to realise true objects of life.
It has established a Government of Law and Justice.
It has conferred rights which cannot be obtained without sacrifice.
Wherever the Union Jack flutters,
Peace and prosperity flows.
These blessings are not to be had, under German and Russian rule.
Truth and justice are at a discount in these countries.
You must support your Government.
Abide by its Law.
It stands for truth and justice.

This song was also distributed at the *At Home* given by the staff of the demonstration train to His Excellency the Governor on Friday evening at Lahore."—*Hindustan Times.*

The true picture of Indian peasantry will be revealed by going through the following "glimpses into rural India."

(1) *An English Magistrate Speaks* : Dewan Chaman Lal, an ex-member of the Indian Parliament and a member of the Royal Commission on Labour, wrote the following story of "benevolent treatment of Indian peasants by the British rulers" in his book *Coolie* Vol. 1 :

"Recently in the northern Himalayas I was approached by a delegation of two hundred peasants who asserted, in bitter speech, that village after village was being deserted because they were unable to pay the heavy fines levied on them by the forest authorities for minor infractions of the forest laws. If a peasant was seen carrying a bundle of dry leaves to serve as fuel, he was fined. If his cattle penned up in a half acre plot on the



By Boris Georgiev

hill-side, strayed towards the nearest boundary tree, he was fined. And it was not necessary that these infractions should, in fact, be detected. The evidence of a forest guard, demanding a bribe and being refused, was sufficient to convict a peasant who, in one case, was hauled up before the court for twenty such offences. On that very day there were four thousand cases pending before one magistrate alone in this small Himalayan town!

"The court room was a wooden shed with a roof of corrugated iron. In one corner were the clerks scribbling away at the files The old magistrate, a red-faced, bald-headed Englishman, did not conceal the fact that he, as Vice-Chairman of the Municipality, within whose jurisdiction these fines were being inflicted, should not be asked to deal with the cases of these peasants as it was the Municipality which stood to benefit at the expense of the peasantry. The Municipality was thus the prosecutor and the judge and its paid servants were the sole witnesses. 'Let me give you a picture of the peasantry of these hills,' said the magistrate, turning to me. 'Most of them do not possess sufficient land upon which they and their families can even starve in decency. During the last twenty years the population has gone on increasing steadily but hardly an inch has been added to the land available for cultivation. I have told the authorities time and again: If you want the population, destroy the forest; if you want the forest, kill the people. But nobody listens to me. What is the peasant to do? Either his small plot of land will just keep him or keep his cattle. He cannot do without his cattle. In a small way he supplies milk to the visitors and thinks he makes a profit. In reality he will borrow a hundred rupees to purchase a cow from the money-lender and receive in actual cash only seventy-five. And this at forty per cent interest. Usually the money-lender stipulates that the peasant shall sell milk to him for next to nothing until the debt is cleared. As a matter of fact, the debt seldom gets paid. For fodder, the peasant steals grass from the forest. For fuel he gathers dry leaves or dead branches

also from the forest. And when he is caught, he is fined. Where is he to get the money from, with which to pay the fine? He would be prepared to pledge his wife, if he could raise the money. Cases of this nature have been known. But he can raise no more from the money-lender and as he can raise no more, either he becomes a highway robber or disappears, leaving no trace behind. Many of your industrial workers are thus fugitives from the villages and the law-courts."

"And bit by bit the industrial population grows knocking at the factory gates, a population stricken with hunger, a population reckless and fugitive to whom life is the greatest ordeal and death a welcome release. The gates open upon these miserable hordes prepared to accept the lowest possible wage scourged by the lash of constant starvation and with the fear of unremitting indebtness."

"The peasant and his ancestors have lived through centuries of oppression, hunger and disease, fear and nakedness. The heart of the peasant is full of distilled drops of bitterness. In his eyes. at the four corners of his small plot of land, stand: the Revenue Official, the Landlord, the Money-lender and the Policeman; and these are the Four Horsemen who drag an emaciated carcase to the mortuaries which are the industrial towns of India."

"The peasants presented me with a pitiful appeal in which they said that they were being 'destroyed with fines' and asked me whether they should leave their villages and desert their homes."

"Then followed sixty-one names giving the total number of 310 cases that had been filed against sixty-one peasants."

(2) *Lot of Peasant Women*: Mahatma Gandhi published in *Young India* a few typical cases to show the world what is happening in India to the peasant and to the agricultural labourer. I record here three such cases in each of which the peasant speaks for himself.

(i) "On 30-5-1929 I went to work in my field, leaving my house locked. During my absence the Circle Inspector and the Talati put their own lock on it. Since then up till now (3-6-29) I, my womenfolk and my children have been forced to wander homelessly and have been hard put to it to find the wherewithal to subsist. I have paid the first instalment of the levy due for the current year. I have four and a half *Bighas* of land (2¼ acres) but it has not yielded any crop. I complained before the revenue officials at the *Chora* (village square) and begged them to remove the lock from our house but in vain. I have not even sufficient provision of grain with me. I have to feed my bullocks with bitter *Neem* leaves. I managed to eke out eight rupees by doing hard labour and selling firewood to pay the second instalment of revenue. But it was diverted by the revenue officials to recover the *Tagari* due while the revenue due was still kept in arrears."

(ii) "My brother has a holding of 1½ *bighas* in his name. To recover the balance of one rupee that was shown as due from him, his wife, who had hardly yet risen from her recent confinement, was turned out of doors while he was away from the village and their house put under lock. For the last three days since this event happened the poor women has been depending even for food on the charity of her neighbours since she cannot have access to her own house."

(iii) *British Delegation's Testimony*: Though I personally visited about 50 villages in the Gujarat (Bardoli) and reported official atrocities for half-a-dozen papers, I will let the British Delegation of the India League, London, speak on the question of the treatment of peasants in Gujarat, the province of Gandhi.

The Delegation Report says:

"Among punitive measures and excesses to which rural India was subject should be mentioned:

1. Attachments.
2. Looting and pillage (by landlords and Government agents).

3. Intimidation and humiliation of { Women. Neighbours. Civil resisters.
4. Attacks on constructive work.
5. Punitive police and taxes.

(3) *Illegal Seizures* : "Plough animals, agricultural implements and seed are not liable to attachment in lieu of debts and arrears of rents or taxes. It is a principle accepted by law, since the deprivation of these 'tools' of his craft renders the agriculturist incapable of earning his sustenance and of paying his debts.

"In the present campaign, animals, implements and stocks have been seized and sold for nominal prices, or destroyed.

"Peasants' houses have been sealed by the police ; we saw a number of these, and not only movable property, but detachable parts of houses, such as doors, window shutters, galvanised iron roofing and even bricks from the walls have been taken away."

(4) *Defenders of the Empire Starve* : And now read what is the fate of those who served Great Britain in last war, Imagine the lot of thousands of widows and orphans created by compulsory recruitment :

"In the month of August 1921 a gentleman in charge of the famine relief fund in the Kangra Valley wrote as follows of the peasantry of that part :

"They take a seer or two of wheat or maize, mix it with about the same quantity of mango-stones and husks of rice and get the three powdered together and eat. Cholera, which is the natural concomitant of famine has reappeared. The power of resistance has gone, and the people have been obliged to live on leaves of various vegetables mixed with some sort of grain."

"This gentleman adds that one difficulty has been that the young men of those parts who died in the Great War left thousands of widows behind of good birth, who are being paid for having saved the British Empire, the handosme pension of three

to four rupees a month. Recently, the soldiers of the Punjab organized themselves and marched in a body to the city of Lahore. In dealing with their cases, I discovered that these ex-soldiers who had fought in the Great War and had lost a limb or two were, no doubt, generously provided with artificial limbs by the Army Department but that they were given by that department pensions of five to six rupees a month. This was considered by the Army officials as fit subsistance allowance for the working classes of India. In the Report that I have just referred to of the famine-stricken area of the Kangra Valley, there was discovered the case of one aged Rajput who was supporting 15 widows in his family, widows of war heroes on a total pension for all of Rs. 40/- a month. These were the widows of sons and nephews who were made cannon-fodder in the Great War and they said : 'We cannot get more than 2 seers of rice per rupee in places.' "—Dewan Chaman Lal.

(5) *Indian Village Scene* :

British Major's Story : Major Yeast-Brown, a retired military official and a writer of repute recently visited several villages, accompanied by Government officials, and drew a very pathetic picture of Indian villages. Describing his visit to the house of one Ram Lal, a tanner (so-called low class), he wrote :

His Midday Meal : "For their mid-day meal this couple are about to eat one half of three thin rounds of unleavened bread (chapatties) and a little pea soup. For supper they will eat the other half of the chapatties. The combined nourishment of father, mother, baby, for a whole day would provide me with a light and most unpleasant breakfast.

"There are millions of Ram Lals in India. Fifty millions at least, not all tanners, but all outcasts and more depressed than the whole population of the British Isles. Nor do many millions of the Twice-Born have better nourishment. Clothes are lacking as well as food. Few villagers north of the Vindhya Hills have

enough to wear. On this bright February afternoon a nudist would be comfortable in Ram Lal's thin shift, loin-cloth, sandals; but at night, when the temperature drops by forty degrees, he has nothing but one worn torn blanket.

"A cadaverous cow has just defecated in the doorway. Mrs. Ram Lal gathers the excreta with loving hands: this is her fuel: she has no other. Let us enter her house. There is a tiny mud-walled courtyard, containing a couple of earthenware jars for water. Crossing it in two paces, I am in a black inner room, in which a cow-dung fire is burning. There is no vent. When my smarting eyes grow accustomed to the light, I see a few cooking pots and a string bed. That is all. This is Ram Lal's home. Where he has lived and worked for forty-five years, earning about half a crown a week: sometimes less, rarely more."

India's Greatest Problem: Ram Lal is in debt to the village money-lender to the extent of a hundred rupees, which is a sum representing about a year's earnings. Eighty per cent of the villagers are in debt: many of them owe more than hundred rupees. The interest charged by this particular money-lender, in Gardhapur, who is said to be a very decent and reasonable Bania, varies between 18 and 24 per cent per annum at compound interest. (Banias take from the peasantry a sum which has been calculated to be about twice the entire land revenue of British India). However, Ram Lal is quite happy: he may stint himself over the necessaries of life, but not over festivals, marriages and funerals. Often he has a spare copper for a beggar: five or six millions of them are wandering about India, living on the bounty of the countryside. There are also twenty-four and a half million entirely superfluous cattle, costing £ 132 millions annually: a staggering sum for Ram Lal and his friends to pay for their veneration of cows. Moreover, five to six millions of people die yearly from preventable diseases, and 'the percentage loss of efficiency of the average person in India from preventable

come famines, unnecessary famines, huge ironic famines, that make civilization and Christianity and progress look contemptible, and sweep off millions.

"Millions, said I. And you thought it an exaggeration or a figure of speech. Yes ? Since the beginning of the present happy century of Christian peace and good will to men, more persons have perished of famine in India than were slain in the World War I. Humanity cried out against the horrors of the battlefield. They were like tender mercy compared with the unspeakable horrors of the famine areas. And observe that these visitations, instead of diminishing under the rule of Great Britain have increased in number and in fatalities. Look at the figures. Divide into quarters the nineteenth century. Here are the reported deaths from famine in each.

Period	Number of Famines	Deaths in Each
1800—1825	5	1,000,000
1825—1850	2	400,000
1850—1875	6	5,000,000
1875—1900	18	15,000,000 to 25,000,000

"In the great famine of 1900—1902, more than 10,000,000 persons perished and since *then even these appalling figures have* been exceeded. If you have ever examined the photographs *taken in the Indian famine of 1900 you must* be haunted still by their fearful revelations.

"And no less by their unanswerable indictment of the governing nation that would allow such conditions and thereby prove itself unfit to govern anything. If there were nothing else to destroy in the eyes of the world the last claim of Great Britain to remain another day in India it is the record of the Indian famines."

Who will not shed a few tears for these unhappy millions ?

* * * *

Three Cents a Day : But still worse is the condition of Indian labourers, a majority of whom are paid from 3 to 12 cents per

day. Space does not permit me to print one-tenth of the materials that I originally intended to give under a separate chapter, but the reader may form some idea of the condition of our labourers from the following cases quoted from the *Coolie* written by D. Chaman Lal, a member of the Royal Commission on Labour.

(1) *Employers as Magistrates*: "It is not difficult to imagine what the condition of the recruited labour in the tea plantations must be like when it is realised that, in several cases, it has been known that the employer on the tea plantation himself possesses magisterial powers. Should an unwilling recruited labourer desire to leave the plantation, there are a hundred ways of making him realise that he is dealing not with an employer, who is powerless to prevent his freedom of movement but with an employer who happens to be also a magistrate.

"I will now give a few cases illustrative of what is happening in Assam:

"On the 20th July 1920, a woman applied to the Deputy Commissioner for discharge certificate on the ground that she had finished her period of contract. The manager was asked to report by the 9th of August, if the garden had on her any claim. On that date, the Manager filed a complaint against her for absconding and she was arrested in court. The Deputy Commissioner ordered her to return to the garden (on the ground that the agreement still exists with a balance of 27 days' work). The woman refused and was sentenced to six weeks' hard labour.

"On the 1st of June 1928, a gang of more than 20 coolies came to complain before the Deputy Commissioner, Jorhat Sibsagar District, that they were recruited from the Nasik District of the Bombay Presidency under a contract for one year, that they had already served the garden for more than 13 months, that they were paid such a low wage that they could save nothing, that they had not even enough money on them to last them for food for one week, that they no longer desired to work in the

garden and that they wanted to be sent back to their country at the cost of their employer, according to the terms explained to them before they were recruited. The Deputy Commissioner wrote to the Manager of the Estate (known as *Gabrujan*) and asked him to appear. Later, a Conference was held between the Manager and the Deputy Commissioner, which was no part of a public proceeding in the open court and the result was that the Deputy Commissioner ordered these coolies to go back to the garden to serve for another eleven months, should they require the Estate to pay for their return passage on the ground that their contract was for a period of two years. This was obviously a question of these coolies having been tricked, but that fact apparently was not taken into consideration by the Deputy Commissioner. However, these coolies with their families, weak, sickly and starving, undertook a most arduous journey back to their country, nearly 2000 miles away. The Government Report on Immigrant Labour in Assam says regarding these coolies that they have no information as to what became of them 'after a certain distance, for nothing has been reported.' "

(2) "*Slave Plantations*" : "A representative of the All-India Trade Union Congress was sent down to Assam with the object of organising tea plantation coolies. The necessity for this was apparent, considering that Messrs. Purcell and Hallsworth in their Report were constrained to admit that the workers in the '*virtually slave plantations of Assam are perhaps the most wretched spieces of humanity that are to be found in the civilized world.*' The Trade Congress representative discovered that the tea plantation coolies were underfed, ill-clothed, horribly housed, whose persons were not free from gratuitous assaults by the employers, the modesty of whose womenfolk was not safe and whose representations were seldom listened to. He found that they were represented in the local Legislative Council not by one of their chosen representatives but by a nominated member who was himself a member of the Tea Planters' Association, namely, the

organization of the employers. He found that they were living in insanitary lines amidst squalor, dirt and disease, that the rate of mortality amongst them was high, and that such was the grave suspicion in the minds of the employers against men who were desirous of organizing the tea plantation coolies, that any man merely suspected of being an organizer was immediately hauled up before the courts. In this connection one case is worthy of mention.

(3) *His Crime*: A coolie named Verana Tilanga was tried on the 15th August 1928 and sentenced to one month's rigorous imprisonment on the 31st August 1928. This coolie was going to the Cinnamara Tea Garden in search of work as he had heard that there were many other coolies in that garden from his district. He was arrested and taken before the manager and questioned. He replied that he had come to that garden for work. The manager was not satisfied, thinking that he was an agitator, whereupon he proceeded to write a complaint against this coolie, which complaint was witnessed by the manager's clerk, the peons and the Chowkidars. Thereupon this coolie was handed over to the police. The complaint was that the manager suspected this coolie as belonging to the staff of the representative of the Trade Union Congress. The coolie was charged with causing "annoyance" to the manager! The accused said that he had never heard the name of the Trades Union Congress or of its representative. But on the evidence of the clerk and the Chowkidar he was convicted and sentenced.

(4) *Three Foreign Witnesses*: When Dr. V. H. Rutherford toured India, he spoke of the tea planters in his book *Modern India* as follows:

"On the tea plantations of Assam a man gets 8d for eight hours a day, a woman 6d and a child 3d; in the tea factories the worker earns 9d for an eight-hour working. The coolie suffers not only from this low level of wages but frequently from

indebtedness to his employers in out-landish districts where he is dependent upon the shops provided by the employers for his foodstuffs, fuel, etc. This indebtedness, together with the isolation of the plantation, renders it difficult for him to seek employment elsewhere and thus practically reduces him to a life of economic slavery. His treatment often borders on the inhuman and his chances of justice and redress are chimerical."

(5) When Messrs. A. A. Purcell, M. P., and J. Hallsworth wrote about the tea gardens, this is what they said :

"We witnessed a group of men, women and children working together, while about five yards away a planter's young assistant proudly hugging a whip. This we regarded as a good proof of 'contentment' prevailing among the tea garden plantations."

(6) Another witness, Herr Furtwangler, a member of the International Textile Workers' Federation, who visited India in 1927, stated that :

"The wages of coolies on the Indian plantations have not changed for the last 70 years. The wages of a coolie in 1870 were five rupees per month. In 1922, the maximum wages of a coolie on the Assam tea plantations did not exceed seven rupees per month. It should be remarked in this connection that the price of rice the coolie's only article of food has more than doubled during this period. The coolie spends practically the most of his monthly wages on his rice. His clothes or rather rags worn by the Indian coolie, occupy but an insignificant proportion in his budget."

(7) *Government's Confession* : This is what the Chief Commissioner of Delhi stated in a communication to the Royal Commission on Labour :

"Broadly speaking the food of the workers is poor and mostly consists of inferior quality of flour, pulses, rice, ghee and oil.

He often shows a poor physique and appears content with the low standard of comfort. His clothing is often dirty. The industrial workers are mostly illiterate and have restricted facilities provided for their and their children's education. There is no co-operative organization in industries in this Province. There is neither any suitable provision for provident funds. The industrial worker is generally found in debt to the money-lender, who charges interest at exhorbitant rates."

The question is never asked as to why the worker is content with his low standard of life. Is it that he wants it ? Is it that he likes it or is it because he is powerless to arrest the machine which drives him down to the abyss ?

(8) *One Dollar A Month*: "The North Western Railway Administration fix wages under no hard and fast rules, but generally, according to them, on economic considerations of supply and demand etc. The administration was asked whether it would not be better and more human to fix the wages not upon the law of supply and demand but by laying down a minimum living wage. The representatives of the administration replied that in practice it would be impossible. They made a statement to the effect that the lowest paid worker on the Railways was getting Rs. 16/- p. m.; so little was the knowledge possessed by the representatives of this administration in regard to the wages paid by them. They forgot that boys engaged on the railways start at Rs. 10/- p. m. and that gangmen start at Rs. 13/- and go up to Rs. 17/- p. m."—*The Coolie.*

I personally know of hundreds of cases where a magnificient salary of one or two dollars per month is paid. Right under the nose of the British Viceroy live thousands of stone-breakers in New Delhi, (100 million dollar city) who are paid just two annas, that is 3 to 4 cents a day. (About one dollar per month). The employers of these stone-breakers are all Government contractors, who have piled up millions out of the 100 million dollar waste on the luxury of having a new capital. Three to

four of these laborers sleep together in a *quilt* (call it rags), since they cannot afford to buy cots and *beddings*. *The Viceroy* lives close to them, but has never cared to help them. Recently they went on strike, when the police gave them beating for revolting against Government contractors, who are mostly title-holders and bootlickers who expect titles in the near future. Let me end this shocking story with a poem on the subject.

Indian Labourer's Agony

Hungry and thirsty we break these stones in the heat of the sun.
The chips of stone fly up and batter our naked bodies.
Our life is empty and useless.
Our naked bodies shine with sweat, the tears flow from our eyes.
Sometimes the chips of stone pierce the flesh, and the blood flows.

Those who have plenty of money gorge themselves with food, and live peacefully at home.
But it is when the heat is greatest that we have the heaviest work.
The ground burns beneath the feet ; the sky blazes above ;
The hot wind scorches the faces why can't we escape ?
Sometimes the young men and girls die by the roadside,
Yet my sinful life will not leave me.

Oh mother, how long must I break these stones ?
I am tired of living any longer.
In the cold days when all are warm in bed,
Then I must be breaking stones on the frosty ground.
In the night sleep comes not because of the cold.

All this I do, and what do I get for it ?

Only two annas for a long day's toil
All this I do for my children's sake to keep them alive.
My flesh wastes away with this suffering, only my bones remain.
Oh that I might die quickly and return to earth in a different form!
Hungry and thirsty we break these stones in the cold of winter.

—*From Songs of the Forest.*

CHAPTER XI

BRITAIN EXPOSED

"Britain has drained India for a century and a half in order to create markets for British manufacturers. It has bled white an impoverished and famished population in order to maintain in luxurious fashion an army of white officials and soldiers. Our natives in South Africa are undoubtedly much better off than 90 per cent of the population in India. In the great cities of Bombay and Calcutta thousands sleep on the streets at night because they have no accomodation" . . . . —Dr. Van Der Merive, Member of the South African Parliament.

"British rule in India is the lowest and most immoral system of government in the world."

—Dr. V. H. Rutherford

You often hear a great deal about the blessings of British rule in India. Illustrious leaders of Great Britain travel from the Atlantic to the Pacific telling Americans of the "Benevolence of British Rule." Whether those hired propagandists or interested persons speak the truth can best be judged by the following statements of honest and disinterested white men belonging to the English, American, and other nationalities. I present the verdict of white men on British rule, to the reader without any comment.

MacDonald Tells the Truth: Let Mr. Ramsay MacDonald speak first on British rule:

"British policy in India has acquired the reputation of withholding with one hand what it gives with the other. One hears in India a universal complaint that we deny to the heart what we offer to the ear. Our fault has been to give with reserve. It

is a bad policy. We must give what we do give without reserve." —From *Government of India*. p. 93.

"The Governorships in India have been regarded as glorified jobs for rich and vain followers or as consolation prizes for respectable but disappointed men or as an occupation for men otherwise idle at home."—From *Government of India*, p. 82.

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"*Unspeakably Mean*" : And the same Ramsay MacDonald (now known as a turncoat) wrote in his book *The Awakening of India* p. 146 :

"We spend far too much of the income of India on Imperial purposes and far too little on Indian development. Our expenditure on education is typical . . . ."

"The cost of annexing Upper Burma was similarly placed on Indian shoulders, and no justification ever has, or ever can be offered for it. It is unspeakably mean of us to place this burden on the Indian's back simply because he must bear any load we put upon him. Nine-tenths of the charge of the Army in India is an Imperial charge. Canada, South Africa, and Australia should bear it as much as India. It is a piece of the most bitter cynicism to find the Imperial doors to our colonies shut in the faces of these poor people, who bear such an inordinate share of the cost of Imperial maintenance, and at whose expense these Dominions are protected from the fear of war. If £ 18,000,000 of the Army charges were met by the whole Empire we might look the Indian taxpayer in the face as honest men. At present we cannot do so. On the whole, I think two charges can be subtantiated against us. Our Government is extravagant, and we have behaved meanly to India. We charge the Indian taxpayer with the cost of the Indian Office in Whitehall—even with the cost of building it : we would never think of making such a charge against our Colonies ; India has to pay for Aden and for Imperial Embassies into different parts of Asia ; but the depth of meanness was surely touched when we tried—happily unsuccess-

fully—to charge India with £ 7,000, the cost of the representatives and guests from India who took part in the Coronation ceremonies of the late King. The people are *the most industrious in the* world: much of their land is fertile and yields rich crops; whenever a famine comes they are stricken with starvation and *die by thousands, whilst millions are shattered in physical vigour.* Sir William Hunter said that 40,000,000 Indians go through life with insufficient food; Sir Charles Elliott estimated that one-half of the agricultural population never satisfied hunger fully from one year's end to another. From thirty to fifty million families live in India on an income which does not exceed 3½d. per day. In July, 1900, according to the *Imperial Gazeteer*, famine relief was administered daily to 6,500,000 persons. The poverty of India is not an opinion, it is a fact. At the best of times the cultivator has a millstone of debt about his neck. *The Famine Commission's Report of 1901* informs us that at least one-fourth of the cultivators in the Bombay Presidency have lost their lands, and less than one-fifth are free from debt."—From *The Awakening of India*. pp. 91-95, 96, and 102-103.

"Up to the present moment the Government has been an autocracy, a despotism."—From *The Awakening of India*. p. 146.

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MACAULAY WROTE THUS: "THIRTY MILLIONS OF HUMAN BEINGS ARE REDUCED TO AN EXTREMITY OF WRETCHEDNESS. THEY HAD BEEN ACCUSTOMED TO LIVE UNDER TYRANNY, BUT NEVER UNDER TYRANNY LIKE THIS. THE GOVERNMENT OPPRESSIVE AS THE MOST OPPRESSIVE FORM OF BARBARIAN DESPOTISM, IS STRONG WITH ALL THE STRENGTH OF CIVILISATION."

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What the English Do: "The English like white men of other nationalities are destroying the racial individuality of the people whom they rule, and harnessing them to the plow of their own

peculiar form of progress . . . . And the tread of the oxen grows heavy . . . . And the end ? At present the glory of freedom is supplanted by the survival of the fittest, and human beings, content with having merely ripped the shackles from the slaves, satisfy themselves by contemplating in odd moments, the strange Divine Evolution which creates men equal."—*King Cobra.*

"In these 150 years, England had done nothing to relieve the poverty of the teeming Indian masses but had only exploited them. You do not know what the word poverty means until you have looked at the wretched beings before you breathe, spawn and fester in their human rabbit-warrens, so breathe, spawn and fester millions upon millions of other fellow creatures of yours in a land that is potentially the richest on earth.

"Well, how do they live ?

"In inconceivable mud huts, perhaps twelve feet by fourteen, often smaller, with a thatched roof, no window, a doorway with a strip of calico or bamboo for a door, one such hovel to a family—so live millions upon millions of them and never know anything else. Pigs are not usually housed so anywhere in America. So their children will live, and the government over them has cared not a rap.

"For this the excuse is urged that it is impossible to induce these people to live otherwise because the East is the East and the West is the West and nothing else is so comical as the American or European that thinks any improvement can be introduced in India.

So sang Kipling, Poet Laureate of All Reaction ; so echo all the wise men of the West that come East to pick up good profits."—*Bare Hands and Stone Walls.*

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Ruinous British Rule : In a letter of July 2, 1901, published in the *Morning Post*, London, the late Mr. H. M. Hyndman, said :

"More than twenty years ago the late Sir Louis Mallet (I presume with the knowledge and consent of Lord Cranbrook then

Secretary of State for India, and of my friend the late Edward Stanhope, then Under Secretary) put at my disposal the confidential documents in the India Office, from Indian Finance Ministers and others, bearing on this question of the drain from India to England and its effects. The situation is, to my mind, so desperate that I consider I am entitled to call on Lord George Hamilton to submit the confidential memoranda on this subject, up to and after the year 1880 for the consideration of the House of Commons. I venture to assert that the public will be astonished to read the names of those who (privately) are at one with me on this matter. As to remedy, there is but one, and this almost too late for the stanching of the drain and that is the steady substitution of native rule, under light English supervision for the presént ruinous system."

On page 208 of his *Prosperous British India* Mr. William Digby gives photographic reproduction of two pages from an Indian Blue Book containing admissions about the drain.

"Great Britain, in addition to the tribute she makes India pay her through the customs, derives benefit from the savings of the service at the three presidencies being spent in England instead of in India; and in addition to these savings, which probably amount to near a million, she derives benefit from the fortunes realized by the European mercantile community which are all remitted to England."

The following extracts are made from the *Reports of the Committees of the House of Commons*, Vol. V. 1781-82, printed in 1804, comparing Indian rule with the rule of the East India Company. Mr. Philip Francis, once a member of the Bengal Council wrote:

"It must give pain to an Englishman to have reason to think that since the accession of the *Company* to the Divanee, the condition of the people of this country *has* been worse than it was before; and yet I am afraid the fact is undoubted; and I believe

has proceeded from the following causes : the mode of providing the Company's investment ; the exportation of species. instead of importing large sums annually ; the strictness that has been observed in the collections ; the endeavours of all concerned to gain credit by an increase of revenue during the time of their being in station, without sufficiently attending to what future consequences might be expected from such a measure ; the errors that subsist in the manner of making collections. particularly by the employment of animals. These appear to me the principal causes why this fine country which flourished under the most despotic and arbitrary government, is verging towards its ruin while the English have really so great a share in the administration."

Sir John Malcolm, Governor of Bombay in 1827 (one of the makers of the British Empire in India) was examined before the Select committee of the House of Commons in 1832 :

"In your opinion, was the substitution of our government for the misrule of the native princes the cause of greater prosperity of the agriculture and commercial part of the population ?"

"I cannot answer this in every province of India, but I shall as far as my experience enables me. I do not think the change has benefitted or could benefit either the commercial, the monied or the agricultural classes of many of the Native States, though it may of others. It has not happened to me ever to see countries better cultivated and so abounding in all the produce of the soil as well as commercial wealth than the southern Maharatta districts when I accompanied the present Duke of Willington to that country in 1803 . . . . With respect to Malwa . . . . And I do not believe that the introduction of our direct rule could have contributed more, nor indeed so much, to the prosperity of the commercial and agricultural interests as the establishment of the efficient rule of its former princes and chiefs."

Sir George Wingate, who had held high posts in the Government of Bombay, recorded the following observations for the

consideration of his countrymen when administration of the Empire passed to the Crown in 1858 :

"If then we have governed India not merely for the native of India but for ourselves, we are clearly blamable in the sight of God and man for having contributed nothing towards defraying the cost of that Government. With reference to its economic effects upon the condition of India, the tribute paid to Great Britain is by far the most objectionable feature in our existing policy. Taxes spent in the country from which they are raised are totally different in their effects from taxes raised in one country and spent in another. The Indian tribute, whether weighed in the scales of justice or viewed in the light of our true interest, will be found to be at variance with humanity, with common sense, and with the received maxims of economical science."

Mr. Montgomery Martin, an historian of the British colonies and dependencies wrote in 1838 :

"So constant and accumulating a drain, even on England, would soon impoverish her ; how severe then, must be the effect on India, where the wage of a labourer is from two to three pence a day."

Mr. H. H. Wilson, author of *History of India* says of the annual drain of wealth :

"Its transference to England is an abstraction of Indian capital for which no equivalent is given : it is an exhausting drain upon the country, the issue of which is replaced by no reflux ; it is an extraction of the life-blood from the veins of national industry which no subsequent introduction of nourishment is furnished to restore."

Professor J. Seely in his *Expansion of England* very significantly remarks "subjection for a long time to a foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of national deterioration."

Mr. Ramsay Mac-Donald, the "Traitor Leader of the British Labour Party" accorded his opinion that in all attempts to govern a country by a "benevolent despotism" the governed are crushed down. "They become subjects who obey, not citizens who act. Their literature, their art, their spiritual expression go."

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British Justice : Sergeant Brago about the trade operations of the East India Company :

"A gentleman sends a Gomastah to buy or sell : he immediately looks upon himself as sufficient to force every inhabitant either to buy his goods or sell him theirs, and on refusal (in case of non-capacity) a flogging or confinement immediately ensues. This is not sufficient even when willing, but a second force is made use of, which is to engross the different branches of trade to themselves and not to suffer any person to buy or sell the articles they trade in ; and if the country people do it, then a repetition of their authority is put in practice ; and again, what things they purchase, they think the least they can do is to take them for a considerable deal less than another merchant and often-times refuse paying that ; and my interfering occasions and immediate complaint. These and many other oppressions ; more than can be related, which are daily used by the Bengal Gomastahs are the reasons that this place (Backergunj, a prosperous Bengal district) is growing destitute of inhabitants ; every day numbers leave the town to seek a residence more safe, and the very markets, which before afforded plenty, do hardly now produce anything of use ; their peons being allowed to force poor people ; and if the *zamindar* offers to prevent it, he is threatened to be used in the same manner. Before, justice was given in the public cutchery (court), but now every Gomastah has become a judge, and every one's house a cutchery ; they even pass sentences on the *zamindars* themselves and draw money from them by pretended injuries such as a quarrel with some of the peons, or their having, as they assert, stolen something, which is more likely to have been taken by their own people."

Loot by Clive: Lord Macaulay about Clive's loot from India :

"As to Clive, there was no limit to his acquisitions but his own moderation. The treasury of Bengal was thrown open to him. There were, well-piled up, after the usage of the Indian princes, immense masses of coins among which might not seldom be detected the florins and byzants with which, before any European ship had turned the Cape of Good Hope, the Venetians purchased the stuff and the species of the East. Clive walked between heaps of gold and silver crowned with rubies and diamonds and was at liberty to help himself"

What followed Clive's departure was thus summed up by the same authority :

"Enormous fortunes were thus rapidly accumulated at Calcutta while thirty millions of human beings were reduced to the extremity of wretchedness. The misgovernment of the English was carried to such a point as seems hardly compatible with the very existence of society."

* * * *

An Englishman's Verdict: "When Akbar was emperor it was said that a child could walk with a bag of gold from Bombay to Delhi and be unmolested. A child would be lucky to get as far as the city boundaries to-day. Akbar was a great ruler, greater even than the late Marquess Curzon. He was a stranger from over the Border, but he gained India by firmness and justice."

—*Revolution in India.*

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Lifeless Machine: "For the last few years the doctrine of administrative efficiency has been pressed too hard. The wheels of the huge machine have been driven too fast. Our danger is the creation in the centre of Indian Government of a huge bureaucracy. Competent, honourable, faithful and industrious, the servants of the State in India are and will be, but if the present system is persisted in, they are likely to become rather mechanical, rather

lifeless, perhaps, I might even say, rather soulless."—*John Morley*.

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A Living Movement: "It would be idle to deny that there is at this moment, and there has been for some time past, and very likely there will be for some time to come a living movement in the mind of those people for whom we are responsible.

"A living movement, and a movement for what? A movement for objects which we ourselves have thought them to think desirable objects.

"And unless we somehow or other can reconcile order with satisfaction of those ideas and aspirations, the fault will not be theirs. It will be ours. It will mean the breakdown of what has never yet broken down in any part of the world—the breakdown of British statesmanship."—*John Morley*.

Premier Asquith declared in 1909 that there were great numbers of Indians who were well-qualified to fill high official positions in India. He also called attention to the low and inadequate qualifications that were thought sufficient to fit Englishmen for those positions; and he affirmed that if high places were given to Indians half as unfit as were many Englishmen who occupy them, it would be regarded as a public scandal.

In his recent book *Modern India: its Problems and their Solution* (p. 161), Dr. V. H. Rutherford examines the character and results of British efficiency, and pronounces it "one of the chief causes of India's poverty." He declares that the British Government in India is efficient only on behalf of British interests, only in carrying on the government and managing the affairs of the country for the benefit of Great Britain. As regards promoting the welfare of India and the Indian people, he declares it to be strikingly and shamefully inefficient; in proof of which he cites the Government's 'neglect of education of the masses; neglect of sanitation and medical services in the villages; neglect to keep order; neglect of housing of the poor; neglect to protect

the peasants from the money-lenders : neglect to provide agricultural banks ; comparative neglect to improve and develop agriculture ; neglect to foster Indian industries ; neglect to prevent the manipulation of Indian currency in the interests of London."

And the following is his verdict in two lines :

"British rule, as it is carried on in India, is the lowest and most immoral system of government in the world—the exploitation of one nation by another."

Mr. Edward Thompson in his book *The Other Side of the Medal*, says :

"We (British) would repudiate the suggestion that our Indian Empire is a rule of masters over slaves. Yet we judge as slave-drivers would, and we assess the virtues of our (Indian) fellow-citizens as a hunter assesses the virtues of dogs."

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An Irish Verdict : Some years ago, at the time of the Congo atrocities, an Irish author wrote :

"The English people love liberty for themselves They hate all acts of injustice, except those which they themselves commit. They are such liberty-loving people that they interfere in the Congo and cry, 'Shame !' to the Belgians. But they forget that their heels are on the neck of India."

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A Conservative Tells the Truth : In his book *The Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt*, Mr. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt gives some strong and important testimony regarding British rule in India as seen close at hand and under the most favourable light. He was an intimate personal friend of Lord Lytton, who at that time was the Viceroy of India. Mr. Blunt came to India to make a study of the condition of things there. He belonged to the Conservative Party in British politics, and expected to find the British conduct of affairs in India worthy of the warmest approval. Moreover, he was taken charge of by the Viceroy and the highest officials, and was shown everything from their stand-

point. What was the result? In spite of his prejudices in favour of the British—his own countrymen—and in spite of the pains taken to insure that he should see India as fully as possible from the English side, he was soon disillusioned. He found that British rule in India, instead of being a blessing, was working India's ruin. Of the British imperial system in general he writes:

"It is one of the evils of the English imperial system that it cannot meddle anywhere among free peoples, even with quite innocent intentions, without in the end doing evil. There are too many selfish interests always at work not to turn the best beginnings into ill endings."

Of India He Writes: "I am disappointed with India, which seems just as ill-governed as the rest of Asia, only with good intentions instead of bad ones or none at all. There is just the same heavy taxation, government by foreign officials, and waste of money, that one sees in Turkey. The result is the same, and I don't see much difference between making the starving Hindus pay for a cathedral at Calcutta and taxing Bulgarians for a palace on the Bosphorus .... In India the 'natives,' as they call them, are a race of slaves, frightened, unhappy, terribly thin. Though myself a good Conservative and a member of the London Carlton Club, I own to being shocked at the bondage in which they are held, and my faith in British institutions and the blessings of English rule has received a severe blow. *I have been studying the mysteries of Indian finance under the 'best masters,' government secretaries, commissioners, and the rest, and have come to the conclusion that, if we go on developing the country at the present rate, the inhabitants will have sooner or later, to resort to cannibalism, for there will be nothing but each other left to eat.*"—From *Unhappy India.*

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What G. B. S. Tells: I will conclude this chapter with extracts from a recent interview with George Bernard Shaw, which appeared in the *Illustrated Weekly of India*, Bombay:

"George Bernard Shaw has clearcut views on India and her future.

"He sees Swaraj not as the goal of Indian Nationalist ideals but as a mere preliminary to a new chapter in India's history.

"Because leaders of Indian thought and character are today *having their energies sapped in the pursuit of the will-o'-the-wisp* of political indepedence, the sooner India becomes self-governing the better for the future of the country.

"Mr. Shaw takes a practical and objective view of India's problems, tracing the under-currents of Nationalism to their source. Thus, in answer to my question : 'On the analogy of *Ireland for the Irish*, do you believe in *India for the Indians* and *Ceylon for the Ceylonese* ?,' he said :

" 'You must [not ask me whether I *believe* in this or that. I recognise the existence of an instinct in men called Nationalism which makes them dissatisfied unless they think they are governed by themselves and not by foreigners. They can think of nothing else until this instinct is gratified, just as a wounded man can think of nothing but his wound until he is well.' "

Barrier to Progress : "In this inborn human impulse Mr. Shaw sees a barrier to the progress of India under Imperial control and therefore a danger to the welfare of her 350 millions. He recognises only one solution."

'The ablest men in India,' he told me, 'are being forced to waste their time and energy on demands for self-government, which should be achieved at once, at any cost, to set them free for real service to their country.'

"I mentioned to Mr. Shaw that there is a section of both Eastern and Western opinion that holds it is a people's birth-right to govern themselves. According to this creed, India was entitled to complete independence in her internal and external affairs."

" 'Entitled,' he remarked, 'has no meaning! if Indians want to govern themselves they must have their way or else live as rebellious slaves to a foreign power.' "

Empire Preference: "The subject of Empire Trade Preference and the Legislative Assembly's recent decision to withdraw from the Ottawa Agreement then came up. I put the Nationalist case to Mr. Shaw by asking him whether an Indian could be expected to pay more for his clothes, for instance, just to help Empire cotton interest.

"His reply was typically Shavian. 'Why not,' he ejaculated, 'if he won't make his own clothes? Damn him!' "

A British Speciality: " 'Don't you think,' Mr. Shaw was asked, 'that there is some justice in the argument that the East is more advanced than the West considering that the latter relies on rule by force and has only one way of settling her arguments —with aeroplanes and guns?'

" 'I don't know,' he said, 'what you mean by advanced. Asia is the land of great conquerors. Compared to their conquests the British conquest of India was a mere poacher's raid. And they certainly had no scruples about using force!"

" 'That question,' Mr. Bernard Shaw added slyly, 'suggests that you are getting badly infected with western hypocrisy—a British speciality.' "

Only hypocrites can deny his charge.

CHAPTER XII

BAYONETS AND BULLETS

" 'Very few people in England know the real Indian situation, but every Englishman should be ashamed of the present British rule in India,' said Prof. Edmond Provat of Geneva University, after two months' tour of India, addressing The Friend of India Society's monthly meeting. He said that he had met the Viceroy and was surprised that the Viceroy did not know anything about the policemen using lathis against the non-violent volunteers. 'Such ignorance is really pathetic.' "—Reuter.

Blessings of British Rule : 1. More than a quarter of a million men, women and children, imprisoned for their love of freedom.

2. More than three thousands killed in cold blood including many a babe-in-arms.

3. Several thousands wounded by bayonets and lathis.

4. Hundreds of houses burnt and looted by the police and military.

5. Women (even pregnant ones) bayoneted, raped and robbed under the very eyes of British officials.

For years a wave of violent repression has been sweeping over India. In all parts of the country Indians have been bombed and shot, bayoneted, beaten and arrested by military and police. Even now there are 3000 political prisoners in Indian jails, most of them detained without trial.

Very few of the actual facts of this campaign of repression have been made known. The Indian Government has maintained a strict censorship of Indian news, and details of police attacks and acts of violence have been suppressed. People throughout the world have been kept in ignorance of the scale on which the

campaign was carried out and of the brutality of the methods employed. I have already mentioned in the Introduction a list of "Christian" methods used to crush the independence struggle.

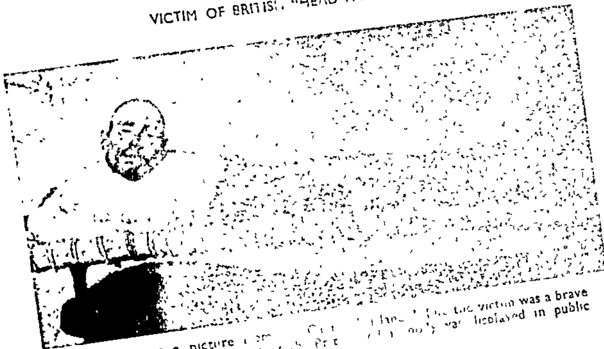
The following pages contain reports and evidence of certain witnesses on events which took place in India in 1930, 1931 and 1932. The collection of evidence and the preparation of reports were carried out by committees of enquiry. In the case of Peshawar the Committee of Enquiry was appointed by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress. These records show the actual methods of repressions which are being used under British rule against the people of India, and give some impression of what has been happening in all parts of India over a period of many years, from 1930 onwards.

The report on Peshawar constantly refers to the non-violence of the people who faced the savage attacks of police and troops. It records the action of the Garwhali Rifles, who refused to fire on the crowd, simply as additional proof that the people were unarmed and were offering no resistance. This heroic act of solidarity with the oppressed people—one of the finest in the long history of colonial struggles—was a definite challenge to the power of the British in India. The Government's recognition of this was shown by the heavy sentences imposed on these troops. Yet the report states that :—

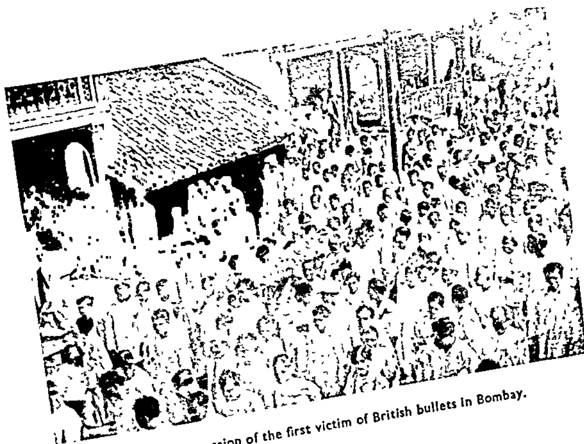
"The sole ground on which these platoons refused to fire was that the people at whom they were asked to level their rifles were unarmed and peaceful."

Hundreds Killed in Peshawar : Soon after the civil disobedience movement was started, the Government fired its first shot at Peshawar in the North-West Frontier, which gave a unique response to Gandhi's call. The brave Pathans, each one of whom could smash several British heads, remained perfectly calm and suffered extreme penalties. Hundreds were killed, thousands were imprisoned, flogged and tortured, but they did not move a finger. The brutal performance commenced on 23rd April after the arrest

VICTIM OF BRITISH "HEAD HUNTERS"



This is not a picture from [illegible] the victim was a brave Afridi leader who was beheaded by the Brit[illegible] body was displayed in public to terrorise others.



Funeral procession of the first victim of British bullets in Bombay.

of prominent leaders.

The findings of the Congress Inquiry Committee, which was presided by the late Mr. Patel, President of the Indian Parliament, include the following:

(1) In the situation that had arisen at Peshawar on the 23rd April, firing by the armoured cars and the military was wholly unjustifiable.

(2) The object of firing was not so much to disperse the crowd as to use as much force as the authorities considered necessary to strike terror into them. Firing was therefore resorted to recklessly, indiscriminately and for an inordinate length of time. And it was not confined merely to the bazaar but was extended to side-streets, bylanes, balconies and other places round about.

(3) The number of persons actually proved to have been killed is 125, but we have no doubt that a much larger number must have been killed and a still larger number wounded. Proof in respect of this large number killed and wounded it is impossible to secure in the conditions now obtaining in the Province. Such proof as had been collected by the Congress Committee after the 29th April was seized by the military on the 4th May, since when further inquiries have become impossible owing to the continued presence of the military in the city. Similar shootings were practised all over India.

Tagore Condemns Barbarism: The tragic happenings of Dacca and Chittagong are mentioned in the next chapter as a part of the "*Unchristian Deeds.*" Here let me refer to the tragedy of Hijli in the words of the world-renowned poet, Tagore.

Shooting of political prisoners in Hijli Camp caused countrywide resentment and on Saturday, September 26, there was a huge protest meeting of the citizens of Calcutta on the Maidan, presided over by Rabindranath Tagore. Addressing this vast gathering, the poet, commenting on "the tragic and cowardly outrage," said:

"WHENT I FIND THAT SUCH AN ACT OF TERRORISM MAY BE PERPETRATED ALMOST CONTEMPUOUSLY, IN UTTER DISREGARD OF PUBLIC OPINION, I FEEL SURE THAT IT IS BUT ONE MORE OF THE SIGNS OF DETERIORATION, THAT HAS ENFEEBLED MORAL CHARACTER OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA, PRESAGING FOR US A FATE THAT IS DARK WITH A TENDENCY TOWARDS AN EASY SUCCESSION OF ENORMITIES. WHEN HUMILIATION AND SUFFERING ARE INDISCRIMINATELY INFLICTED UPON THE HELPLESS, IT BRINGS ABOUT A DEMORALIZATION IN THE AGENTS WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR IT, AND WHO BLINDLY AID THE DESTRUCTION OF THE BASIS OF CIVILISED GOVERNMENT."

"I am here only to give warning on behalf of my countrymen, that no Government, however proud it may be of its enormous resources for repression of freedom, can never afford to lose its dignity—the dignity of justice, of unwavering honesty even under provocation. Our people may not have the physical means for resisting injustice but no power can obstruct them from passing moral judgement, and on their judgement must every Government, however utterly alien it be, depend for its very existence."

Shooting Unarmed Youths: "Whatever may be the motives and the causes of the firing in Hijli Camp, the fact which cannot be denied is that there was shooting down and charges on a body of unarmed young men who were the untried prisoners of Government. They had been taken away from their homes, studies or work and imprisoned for an indefinite period of time. None of them knew what offence they had committed, or when they would be set free. To open fire on these men, even when there is undoubted provocation for annoyance—the unarmed state of the *detenues* absolutely rules out any possibility that there was provocation for anything graver—is not only a crime against humanity, it is also a crime against statecraft."

God Feels Ashamed—Tagore on Aerial Bombing: Only a great poet like Tagore could have found appropriate words to condemn the aerial bombing in India by British rulers. Villages on the North-West Frontier are quite accustomed to annual bombing by airplanes, and it continues while I write these line in the year 1937. Dr. Tagore's soul was moved on the occasion of a recent bombing display and he issued the following statement to the press :—

"From the beginning of our days man has imagined the seat of divinity to be in the upper air from which comes light and blows the breath of life for all creatures on this earth. The peace of its dawn, the splendour of its sunset, the voice of eternity in its starry silence have inspired countless generations of men with an ineffable presence of the infinite, urging their minds away from the sordid interests of daily life. Man has accepted this dust-laden earth for his dwelling place, for the enacting of the drama of his tangled life, ever waiting for a call of perfection from the boundless depth of purity surrounding him in a translucent atmosphere. If in an evil moment man's cruel history should spread its black wings to invade that realm of divine dreams with its cannibalistic greed and fratricidal ferocity, then God's curse will certainly descent upon us for that hideous desecration, and the last curtain will be rung down upon the world of man for whom God feels ashamed."

—*Rabindranath Tagore*

English Earl's Verdict: As one who has been in the thick of the struggle for independence since 1920, I could give hundreds of stories of the brutality of "God's Chosen Rulers," but instead, I shall quote only an English Earl and Philosopher, Bertrand Russell, and Miss Madeline Slade (daughter of a British Admiral) on "British terrorism in India."

Bertrand Russell Wrote as follows: "To obtain a true picture of the present state of affairs in India is as important as it is difficult. Many English people content themselves with the re-

mark that India does not interest them. If India were independent, they would perhaps be justified in this attitude, but so long as the British insist upon governing India, they have no right to ignore what is done in their name by the Government which they have elected. There has been no lack of interest in the misdeeds of the Nazis in Germany ; they have been fully reported in the press, and have been commented on with self-righteous indignation. Few people in England [and in America] realise that misdeeds quite as serious are being perpetrated by the British in India. Large numbers of men and women, including many of the highest idealism, have been imprisoned under horrible conditions, often without any charge having been made against them and without any hope of being brought to trial.

"The elementary liberties that make life tolerable have been taken away from the inhabitants of India, for the crime of desiring self-government. The censorship, combined with British apathy. has made it very difficult for the facts to become known. If they could be widely known, there is, I am convinced, enough decent feeling in England to compel the Government to mend its way. . . . .

"Widespread oppression, even when it succeeds for the moment, is both immoral and impolitic. It cannot but produce a deep hatred, which may have to bide its time, but will burst out sooner or later. In the end, if nothing better than force is used in our relations with India, cruelty will be met by cruelty, atrocities by counter-atrocities ; the fine idealism of the Indian National Congress movement will be swept away by men who will have learnt from us to believe that the only appeal is to force. In some moment of difficulties elsewhere, we shall find ourselves confronted with a movement we shall not be able to repress ; and we shall lose India with ignominy. To any man with any humane feeling, or with any power of learning from history, such a prospect is painful. Who now attempts to justify the period of black-and-tan tyranny in Ireland ? Who, fifty years hence, will have a good word to say for the present tyranny in

India ? No one. It is in our power to cause much misery, perhaps much moral deterioration ; it is not in our power permanently to hold India by force . . . .

"Prison is at times unpleasant, and would not serve its purpose were it otherwise, but there are some forms of unpleasantness which no tenable theory of punishment can justify. The system of promoting criminals to be prison officials, when by their sycophancy they have wormed their way into the favour of the authorities, is one which we should not tolerate at home and have no right to inflict upon India. The regulation that prisoners are to have a fresh towel once every nine months does not err on the side of cleanliness. The practice of herding Indian ladies of refinement with prostitutes in the last stages of venereal disease is a questionable one. All these are matters independent of the question whether a system of government can be considered good which puts almost all the best people in prison while offering good careers to cowards and informers . . . .

"The economic situation of agriculture in India is part of the world-wide depression of agriculture. There is an economic similarity between the situation of Indian peasants and the American farmers. But the political differences are so great as to hide the economic similarity. In America, the farmers are able to bring about a change of administration, a re-organization of the banking system, a change in the currency, and perhaps, a reform in the economic practice of the world. In India, the peasants are powerless against the landlords and the Government combined, so that no economic lesson is learned from their hardships, and they are expected to starve quietly without making a fuss. Only people with political power have a right to make a fuss : this is one of the great lessons of history, and lest history should not sufficiently impress the Indians, we are teaching it by the *lathi* (big bamboo stick) and the jail. Our ruling classes have lost their former skill, and I fear the ultimate result of their folly in India must be disaster."

—*The Oriental Press, New York.*

"*British Raj Doomed*" says British Admiral's daughter :

"British barbarism is the most devilish, cold-blooded and unjustifiable in the history of nations. India has now realised the true nature of British Raj (Rule) and with the realisation, the Raj is doomed."—*Madeline Slade*.

The above revolutionary declaration was not made by an "Indian agitator" but by Miss Madeline Slade, the daughter of an ex-Admiral in the British Navy. She wrote in *Young India* :

"During these days when the authorities in Whitehall and Simla are never tired of extolling the behaviour of the police, I thought I would go and see for myself how this 'exemplary behaviour' has affected the Satyagrahis at Dharasana. I reached Bulsar at mid-day on June 6th, just as the wounded were being brought in there from the 'raid' of that morning. Many of them were being carried on stretchers, other could just struggle from the motors to hospital wards.

"The beating and torturing has been most merciless today ! said the doctors and attendants. I proceeded around the rooms to visit the Satyagrahis more closely and to take notes from doctors as to the nature of their wounds. Literally I felt my skin creep and my hair to stand on end as I saw these brave men, who but a few hours previously had gone forth absolutely unarmed, vowed to non-violence, now lying here before me battered and broken from head to foot. Here was a young man with his shoulders and buttocks so beaten that he could not lie on his back, yet his arms and sides were so damaged that he did not know how to turn for rest. There was another gasping for breath with his chest badly battered, and nearby was a strong tall Musselman lying utterly helpless. 'What are his damages ?' I asked. 'He has received fearful blows on the stomach, the back and right leg,' they replied. 'Also his both testicles are swollen, having been badly squeezed by the police.'

"We went upstairs. Here my attention was attracted by the sounds of sharp-drawn, whistling breathing, intermixed with heart-rending groans. It was a young man, writhing in agony.

He kept catching his stomach, and at intervals he would suddenly sit up as *if he were going to go mad with pain.* He has had a deadly blow right in the abdomen, they said. And he has been vomiting blood. He has also had his testicles severely squeezed, which has shattered his nerves. They fetched ice and applied it to the head and damaged parts, which gradually soothed him.

"And so we went on from this house to another, where we found still more and more wounded. Everyone to whom I talked gave the same description of fiendish beating, torturing, thrusting and dragging, and one and all spoke with burning horror of the foul abuse and unspeakable blasphemy which the police and their Indian and Engligh superiors had poured upon them.

"So this is some of the exemplary behaviour of the police. What then has become of English honour, English justice? Who could dare to uphold as a means of dispersing a non-violent gathering: 1. Lathi blows on the head, stomach and joints; 2. Thrusts with lathis in genital and abdominal regions; 3. Stripping of men naked before beating; 4. The tearing off of loin-cloths and the thrusting of sticks into a man's anus; 5. Pressing and squeezing of a man's testicles until he becomes unconscious; 6. Dragging wounded men about by their legs and arms, often while they are being beaten; 7. Throwing wounded men into thorn hedges or salt water; 8. Riding horses over men as they lie or sit on the ground; 9. Thrusting pins and thorns into men's bodies, sometimes even when they are unconscious; 10. Beating men after they have become unconscious; and other vile things too many to relate?

"The whole affair is one of the most devilish, cold-blooded and unjustifiable in the history of nations. India has now realised the true nature of the *British Raj (rule)*, and with the *realisation* the Raj is doomed."

The story is continued in the following two chapters.

CHAPTER XIII

IF CHRIST COMES BACK

"If Christ could come to India today, He too would hang His head in shame and disgust over the inhuman barbarities that continue to be perpetrated by a Government, which pretends to act in the name of God and Christ."

—*An Indian Christian Leader.*

The multimillionaire ammunition makers and religious-minded philanthropists in the United States of America, Britain and other countries are spending millions to maintain thousands of missionaries to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ to the heathens of India, but little do they know that within a decade the Christian rulers of India have completely undone the work performed by the zealous and devoted messengers of Christ during the last many centuries, and the 350 million people of India have learnt more about Christianity from British bayonets and bullets than from the millions of free copies of the holy Bible, which ultimately find their way to candy shops as wrapping paper.

I present this chapter to His Holiness the Pope, to the leaders of the Christian religion and to millions of true Christians, who may be in utter ignorance of the great Christian work being performed by a Christian Government in the Twentieth Century. And if the story of these unchristian deeds can bestir a few thousand Christians all over the world, I will feel that Christianity is not yet dead.

Unchristian Deeds: The story of the "British Raj" in India is too gruesome to be put in print, but I will mention only three dozen selected cases which bear the testimony of the British Delegation, the Patel Inquiry Committee, and several responsible public men of India.

INFANTS SHOT IN COLD BLOOD



VICTIMS OF BRITISH BULLETS



This is a group of the brave Sikhs, most of whom were killed at "Baj Baj" near Calcutta, when they came from Canada to help the Battle of Freedom.

These Unchristian deeds of the British rulers include :

1. Burning of houses.
2. Looting and destruction of property.
3. Forcible entry into houses and beating of people.
4. Blockading of villages.
5. Looting of crops.
6. Entry into Zenanas and the beating of women.
7. Coldblooded shooting of innocent and unarmed men, women and children.

Writer an Eye-Witness : I personally visited more than a dozen villages in the North-West Frontier Province in the middle of July 1930, after the expiry of my first term of imprisonment. The province was under strict Martial Law and no lover of freedom was permitted to enter it, but I dressed myself in a semi-police uniform (discarding my Gandhi cap and handspun dress for a week) and also armed myself with a police hunter and when my closest friends failed to identify me, I managed to smuggle myself into a taxi cab on a rainy night, while the policemen in plain clothes deputed to shadow me, were sleeping in a shop. When I reached the first city in the frontier province, my elder brother who lived there temporarily, failed to recognise me and when I told him of my mission to inquire into the barbarities of the police and the military he felt sure that I would be killed or arrested, but the semi-police uniform and faithful friends enabled me to witness the horrible deeds listed below. I was armed with a personal letter from the "Frontier Gandhi" with whom I was lodged in the Gujarat prison, and wherever I went people welcomed me and thanked me for bringing them a message of cheer from their leader, who for last seven years has not been permitted to return to his province. He has spent more than five years in prison. The Government are so afraid that there might be a revolution in the Frontier if he goes back, despite the fact that the Frontier leader is wedded to non-violence like Mahatma Gandhi and should be considered the best policeman for the

safety of British lives in that province.

Report Seized : The results of my investigations brought ou many a gruesome revelation and my paper, *the Hindustan Time* whose security had been forfeited by the Government, felt helples to publish the report and the then managing director, wh was a very frank gentleman, said "Bring me the securit money and I will publish your report." A few days later th police searched my house at midnight and seized all my note I was arrested within three weeks of my release and sentence to another term of imprisonment and was thus able to make report to the Frontier Gandhi in the Gujarat prison.

The Congress Working Committee later appointed a Committe of Inquiry with "President Patel" (who was twice President o the Indian Parliament) as chairman and the committee recorde the evidence of victims of the barbarous regime, but soon afte its report was published, it was proscribed by the Government The Congress however published and republished thousands o copies of that report. The civilised world would be shocked t read just a few statements.

And so the story begins !

(1) *Office Burnt* : Statement of Faiz Mohamad, Utmanzi "At about 3 a.m. our village was besieged on all sides by arme soldiers. At about 5 a.m. the Deputy Commissioner along with British and Shia soldiers came near the office of the Khuda Khidmatgars. Immediately on his arrival he ordered us to com down from the office. We were about to come down when h came up to the office accompanied by Shia soldiers (the Sik and Muslim soldiers did not say anything to us) and began t beat us. Our uniforms were taken off and burnt, and we wer thrown down from the balcony. He set his pistol against the breas of a Naqib and ordered him to take off his niform. They bea us with bayonets and lathis and butt-ends. I received a bayone wound from a British soldier .... After this they set fire to th

office and besides other things one copy of Quran Shariff was also burnt and another was saved by a Sikh soldier. The village was given over to the army."

(2) *Wondrous Deeds*: Statement of Abdul Latiff: Occupation, Leather Merchant; Residence, Kohat: "The oppression that was practised on the residents of Kohat was unique in the history of mal-administration. On the 16th, very cruel soldiers with strict instructions were posted. Some of the Congress workers were sent to jail, including Maulvi Ahmad Gul, aged seventy. On this day, the instruments of the so-called just Government performed wondrous deeds of cruelty, but also closed the water pipes. The public had to face great difficulties, and their cattle, owing to want of water, began to die in closed houses. There was no arrangement for their water or food either. According to my information many cows and buffaloes died. Twenty volunteers were flogged and jailed."

(3) *They Greeted Bullets*: A troop of English soldiers had reached the spot and without any warning began firing into the crowd, in which there were many women and children present. The crowd gave a good example of the lesson of non-violence that had been instilled into them. When those in front fell down wounded by the shots, those behind came forward with their breasts bared and exposed themselves to the fire, so much so that some people got as many as 21 bullet wounds in their bodies and all the people stood their ground without getting into a panic.

(4) *Boy Welcomes Death*: A young Sikh boy came and stood in front of a soldier and asked him to fire at him, which the soldier unhesitatingly did, killing him. Similarly an old woman seeing her relatives and friends being wounded came forward, was shot and fell down wounded. An old man with a four-year-old child on his shoulders, unable to brook the brutal slaughter, advanced asking the soldier to fire at him. He

was taken at his word and he also fell down wounded. Scores of such instances will come out on further inquiry. The crowd kept standing at the spot facing the soldiers and were fired at from time to time, until there were heaps of wounded and dying lying about. The Anglo-Indian paper of Lahore, which represents the official view, itself wrote to the effect that the people came forward one after another to face the firing and when they fell wounded they were dragged back and others came forward to be shot at. This state of things continued from 11 till 5 o'clock in the evening. When the number of corpses became too many the ambulance cars of the Government took them away. It is said that they were taken to some unknown place and though they were mostly Mohammedans the bodies were burnt.

Two facts are noteworthy in this connection. One is that of all the dead collected by the Congressmen; there was not even one single instance of bullet-marks in their backs. Further, all the wounds were bullet wounds and there was no trace of grape shot. This is also an admitted fact that neither the police nor the military, nor anybody else alleges that there was any stick or weapon, blunt or sharp, among those in the crowd.

(5) *Bayoneted and Trampled* : Statement of Sayyed Amir Badshah : After the Congress Office was burnt, volunteers were thrown from the top of the third storey and pierced by bayonets. At Parang about 700 volunteers, while lying down, were trampled under horse's hoofs. At Durgai, the people were mercilessly belaboured. Houses were burnt at Takkar Village and the people were mowed down with machine guns.

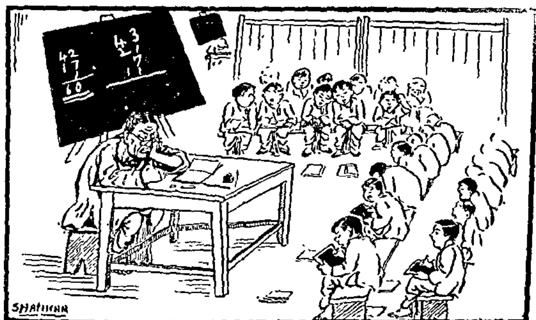
(6) *Dragged Naked* : Statements of Mohammad Fazi Ulla Abbasi and Maksud Jan, B.A., L.L.B., Pleader, Bannu : "On the 11th May, the Frontier Government declared the Congress and the Naujawan Bharat Sabha as unlawful assemblies. On the 14th, the Government started the atrocities in Bannu . . . . The volunteers picketing the shops were beaten mercilessly, their

PREACHING THE GOSPEL



British soldiers set fire to the houses of those who loved freedom.

REVOLUTIONARIES ALL



Sir Charles Tegart told a meeting of the Royal Empire Society that there was scarcely an educational institution of any standing in Bengal in which there was not a terrorist group. The above is the picture of a class-room. Solutions to the puzzle should be sent to Sir Charles Tegart since we ourselves offer no prizes.



Gandhiji behind prison bars



Gand [illegible]

Khaddar uniforms were torn ; they were made stark naked, and were dragged about in that state . . . ."

(7) *Hundreds Killed* : Statement of Illahi Bux ; Occupation, Timber merchant ; Peshawar City : "The death roll is between 200 and 300. I am a volunteer of the Khilafat Committee and also a member of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha. Between 2 and 3 p.m. we removed 60 bodies from the streets, but we could not remove any from the bazaar. When we went there the English troops started firing. I had fifteen volunteers with me and six of them were shot down . . . . While the troops were in the bazaar it was flooded with water and all the blood was washed away. I saw the Gurkha and Sikh Sepoys (soldiers). They did not fire. A Pathan Sepoy, not a resident of Peshawar, probably belonging to some village, was on horse-back. In my presence he was ordered by an Englishman to shoot the crowd. I heard him reply 'Sir, whom shall I shoot ?' Hearing this the Englishman fired at him with his revolver. The bullet hit the horse which fell and died after running for a little distance. The rider too fell down with the horse and then immediately ran away. The rest of the police and mounted Sepoys also ran away as the armoured car was in action. They ran away lest they should be shot down."

(8) *Soldiers Refuse to shoot* : Statement of Mohammad Husain, School Teacher, Peshawar : The firing from the armoured cars went on for about fifteen minutes. After this about 100 English soldiers, all armed, arrived at the spot. The people continue to remove the wounded and the dead. An English officer ordered the English to fire . . . . The English opened shutters of shops with their bayonets and fired at persons who were sitting inside. The firing took place three times. We cannot say as to the exact number of wounded and dead. We cannot say as to how many of the dead and the wounded were taken away in lorries. God knows to what place they were taken. Meanwhile, an officer arrived at the spot with mounted border

police. The officer ordered his Sepoys to shoot. The Jamadar having refused to fire, all the Sepoys refused. The officer became infuriated and fired with his pistol at the Jamadar. The bullet missed him but hit the horse, which died. At this time the Gharwalis refused to open fire saying, that they would not shoot unarmed people. On the 25th of April, the authorities themselves withdrew the troops and left the gates (of the city) open."

From the British Delegation's Report : The following "Christian deeds" are recorded by the British Delegation sent by the "India League" in London.

(9) *Boy Shot in Cold Blood* : A boy was shot in cold blood by a police officer. The incident happened in the United Provinces. The shot was fired from a revolver at very close range, in the region of the heart. The shirt which the lad was wearing showed burn marks, indicating that the lad had been shot at close range. The boy died. There was no inquiry.

(10) *Women Killed in Bed* : Shivabhai Jagabhai, aged 50, a barber, stated : "On the night of the 5th February (1932), when I was asleep, the police came and knocked at my door with big sticks. I was ordered to come down, which I did. I was dragged out and beaten with a lathi on my back and with hands on my head and face. I was bleeding. With the next blow on the head I fainted. My mother, who was eighty years of age, cried out, 'Don't kill my son !' The police went to her bed and beat her. She died after about a month. I was taken to the village office along with another barber and beaten again."

(11) *Look at Naked Husbands* : Rama Nathabhat Kalidas, aged 65, stated that he was taken to the village office, and his shirt and cap removed by force. The police entered the house, took utensils and other movables, threatened his daughter-in-law, who was ill in bed, with beating, and asked for her ornaments. The

Mamlatdar (Magistrate) Manibhai Gandabhai took her out of the house, locked it up and took the keys away. His son was also brought to the village office. They were taken to the field after an hour. In the field they were stripped of all their clothes, and they were made to bend and touch their toes. Two policemen with sticks were on either side, and whenever they tried to stand up they were given blows by the Mamlatdar. Gangaben, the wife of the owner of the field, was then brought by the village police to see them in that condition. She was questioned about her husband and ordered to look at the naked men.

The old man said he was kicked with nailed boots, at intervals, violently. (Scars of nail marks were visible on his back)

(12) *Electric Torture*: R. Nadhabhai Kaldas, aged 65, of Gana village, told us a story of torture. The revenue due from him was Rs. 15 and Thakavi (loan) Rs. 10. He had been manhandled by the police, and finally they were forcing him to touch the battery of a motor car when another man out of pity offered to pay the revenue. The Government had already taken Rs. 30 worth of property, which had not been refunded. He stated that he refused to pay because the Government had put Mahatma Gandhi in jail.

(13) *Elephants Destroy Houses*: Here is a unique story how elephants were used to destroy houses of poor peasants in a village (Bhanubil) in Assam, in the presence of British Superintendent of police. The village was visited by the British Delegation whose personal inquiries revealed the following: The village belongs to a Zamindar, who is alleged to have increased the rent from 13½ annas to Rs. 2. 80. The tenants refused to pay, and the Zamindar got a decree of ejectment. Armed Gurkhas and constables, headed by a Superintendent of Police, assisted in the ejection of the tenants. The Zamindar brought his elephants and pulled down the houses, which were razed to the ground and all the property trampled on. Over fifty houses

were thus destroyed.

(14) We met one of the victimised families. Lapoi Devi, whose husband was in jail, told us that these elephants were brought out and three houses which belonged to her family, all in the same compound, were destroyed. The rent due originally was Rs. 20. It had been increased. The houses are estimated to be worth Rs. 680. The Superintendent of Police was present. Representations were made to the Government before the incident; the answer was that it would not interfere.

"The police," she said, "even now come into our houses and take away our utensils, grain, bedding and clothes. The Sub-Divisional officer visits the house and abuses us from a distance."

(15) *Hair Set on Fire*: At Madura we met a Dhobie (washerman). He wore Khaddar and picketed. He was beaten severely and then taken to the house of the Police Inspector. He was again beaten, then kerosene oil was poured on his hair and set alight. The Inspector's wife was horrified and protested. The man was in the hospital for twenty-five days.

(16) *Missionary Beaten*: Dr. Forrester Paton, a Scottish missionary, was severely beaten with lathis, wounded on the ribs, legs and arms and then drenched with coloured water. When he tried to move away the police turned a hose pipe on him a second time. Dr. Forrester Paton is a member of a well-known Scottish Liberal family and had powerful friends in the House of Commons. The case was taken up by the late Sir Duncan Millar, and Sir Samuel Hoare expressed regret. The Home Member of the Madras Government, in answer to questions in the Madras Legislature, however, declined to accept the position taken up by the Secretary of State. Dr. Paton was arrested on a false charge of picketing, which was withdrawn. Actually Dr. Paton was in Madras to make inquiries about Red Cross Work, and had no connections with the civil disobedience movement.

(17) *Mass Beatings*: "A few days ago at one o'clock the police came to my house, broke open the door, pulled me outside and beat me. The police then collected the Red Shirts in the village and made them sit in the sun for two days, giving them no food or water. They were then taken to the Thana and beaten. Forty men were injured. A fine of Rs. 5 per head was levied. I was put in the lock-up and fined Rs. 50. All this was done because the police suspected a meeting. There was no meeting." (Statement made by Sardar of the village of Kandar.)

(18) *Inhuman Torture*: Statement of Sjt. Ramchander Lakhiram Chaudhari, a volunteer of Rohtak, arrested under 17 (1) Criminal Amendment Act by a plain-clothes man, before the Magistrate:—

"I was arrested on the 18th November and taken to this lock-up, the doors were closed. I was abused in the most outrageous language. The policemen opened my mouth by force and the head constable inserted his penis in my mouth. Then I was taken out in Chowk and thrown with my face down. My hands and feet were tied apart with ropes and I was whipped. They then brought dry chilli powder and put it in the anus. The Havildar took active part in all these acts. I could not bear the effect of chillies and cried aloud. A piece of cloth was thrust into my mouth and my cry stopped. I fainted away. . . . I know some of the policemen who were there. I can identify them. They asked me to give evidence to the effect that Sultansingh, Ramputsingh and Kasturibai were bomb-throwers and bomb-manufacturers: (I refused). At about 4 p.m. ropes were removed and I was taken around the Bazaar. Throughout that procession I was abused and was asked to abuse Gandhi and the Congress. I refused. I was again thrashed. I was taken to police lines, where again I was beaten and I swooned. When I recovered two policemen held my mouth and the Thanadar passed urine into my mouth. He told me 'We have received orders to torture you to death like this.' When Magistrate Mohamad Anwar came to the police station he asked

me as to who prepared the bombs. I did not know anything about it and so I showed my ignorance. Immediately the head constable made a sign. I was taken near the latrines. I was made . . . .

Then came beating again till I again fainted. I was taken to the hospital . . . ."

(19) *Student Killed*: "Take the case which occurred at Dacca only the other day, I happened to go to Dacca just five days after the incident and the details I gathered from respectable persons, some of whom were themselves eye-witnesses, were staggering. . . .the students in the University area were perfectly peaceful and did not give any provocation to the police in the discharge of their so-called duties. The police rushed into the University compound and brutally assaulted a number of students in front of them. The unfortunate lad who succumbed to the injuries had received a shower of lathi blows on him, his head was broken in three places and worst of all, a lathi was thrust into his stomach and a deep and fatal hole was made into it. Some of the gentlemen who had seen the lad immediately afterwards described to me how inside his clenched fingers and teeth were found torn blades of grass which the unfortunate victim, before he lost consciousness forever, must have desperately taken hold of while struggling against the brutality perpetrated on him."—S. Mukherjee, in the Bengal Legislative Council, Quoted from Official Report, thirty-fifth session. Page 141.

(20) *Magistrates' Testimony*: About the excesses committed by the police on the public, a number of signatories; including 24 lawyers, of Madura, one doctor, two first-class Hon. Magistrates, two merchants, and one member of the Madura District Board, in their memorandum, state:

"For the past five days Madura has been passing through a reign of horror during the nights. Parties of Reserve Policemen in their uniforms go about the streets at nights after 9 p.m. and molest all and sundry they can lay hands on."

From the statements given by some of the victims, it appears:

(a) "That innocent pedestrians have been beaten and some of *them robbed by the Reserve Police* party.

(b) "That shopkeepers have been plundered and articles in the shops broken or otherwise damaged.

(c) "*That during the assault on the victims, if these latter* happen to wear Khaddar clothes, such Khaddar clothes have been stripped from them and the victims have been left in the streets stark naked. Such Khaddar clothes taken away from the victims have been burnt by the police at the junction of streets and several other public places.

(d) "Instances have been reported of cases when people going in *jutkas* (horse carriages) have been plundered, beaten and robbed by the Reserve Police and afterwards let off."

(21) *Darkest British Deeds*: The darkest chapter in the history of the British rule in India is that whenever and wherever it finds the Hindus and Muslims united in the struggle for freedom it resorts to well-planned riots between the two communities. Thousands of dollars from secret funds (*not accountable to legislature*) are spent on this dirty job and hundreds of innocent heads are broken, houses are burnt, shops are looted with police assistance, women are raped and the *British officials then triumphantly* ask the victims "Do you want British Rule or Gandhi's Rule?" This has happened in hundreds of places all over India during the last decade but I will relate only two incidents from the report of the Bar Association of Dacca, where riots were deliberately planted by the British District Magistrate and several days before the riots, Hindu police officers were told to send their women folk away from Dacca as communal riots were to be manipulated. (This has been proved by an inquiry committee.—Details in another chapter on "Divide and Rule" policy of the British.)

(22) *Victory to British Raj*: Rohitpur is a village, not more than seven miles from the district headquarters. "The most

'Why have you come to inform the police? Go to the Congress men.' After much entreaty by my brother, the havildar phoned to the Lalbagh Thana (police station), possibly to a superior authority, and then told my brother, 'We have got no orders to go. You won't get any police.' "

And here is the conclusion of the official committee :—

"There were several witnesses who asserted that various police officers, both European and Indians, took advantage of their calamities to taunt them with Swaraj and to tell them to go to the Congress and not to the police for assistance. We have little doubt that such cases did occur; they were very regrettable."

(25) *Police Morals*: Mr. Kothari, a journalist, told the Ranpur Inquiry Committee: "One lady who was not a volunteer was dragged by the police from the station yard by her hair. She was not a volunteer and was standing aloof with some other ladies, apart from the crowd.

While the police were encamping in the Dak Bungalow on the other side of the river, they made indecent overtures to women who were going to the river and to answer calls of nature on the other bank . . . . Decency forbade him (the witness) to reiterate the words before the Committee. They are so mean and foul that I regret my inability to utter them here . . . . All this was done without any provocation from the side of the ladies."—*Free Press Journal*, 18th November, 1930.

(26) *Reward for Loyalty*: Mr. Neogy, a member of the Assembly, gave an instance in the Legislative Assembly on the 2nd of February, 1932. The house of Rao Bahadur G. C. Nag, a Government title holder and pensioner, a retired Deputy Collector, was raided one night. Mr. Nag was grossly abused by a European police officer. When he remonstrated the officer told him, "If the Police Superintendent had come he would have beaten you." Mr. Nag's son and daughter were taken away and the lady was kept in custody without any charge and removed from place

to place under male escort. The police smashed all the furniture in Mr. Nag's house.

(27) *Looting in Bengal*: In Bengal, as in the North-West Frontier Province, police pillage reached excesses comparable only to conditions under military occupation in times of war.

Mr. S. C. Mitra cited much evidence in the Assembly regarding cases, and produced documents and photographs in support. The details could not be published in the press owing to the Press Law. I quote some extracts:

"In the house of Mahendra Nath Jana, of Dalimba Chauk, Sutahata Police Station, all his movable properties were looted, and even the image of the goddess "Laxmi Devi" was thrown away from its place. The other is about the occurrence of the house of Jogendra Nath Kalsa, of Dundipur, on the 22nd September, 1932. Here the District Magistrate, Mr. Burge, and the Sub-Divisional Officer, Mr. Richardson, were also present when police destroyed their granary and spoilt the paddy collected there.

(28) "This is the photograph of that place (shown). Here is another case where, in the village of Bar-Basudebpur, in the house of Brojalal Kniti, the Bhagwat-Geeta was torn to pieces and put into the boiling *handi*, and the man was beaten. This is the statement, and this is the photograph, which will indicate how these things are done . . . . In the village of Hadia, in the house of Kartick Chundar Das, the punitive police burnt the teakwood furniture and burnt the doors and windows. In the same village, in the house of Pran Krishna Das, they entered the temple and stole ornaments even from the body of the image of the family god. I particularly give these instances to show that in Eastern countries people are very sensitive when their religious sentiments are hurt in this way, so that the mighty Government at Simla also should know how the day-to-day administration is being carried on under the ordinances that are now going to be made law . . . .

"There are numbers of pictures taken. I am now showing the house a few only to prove that we do not draw these pictures from our mere imagination. Here is another case where, on the 24th September, 1932, in the house of Bihari Lal Maiti, for a tax of Rs. 24.9, 320 maunds of paddy were taken away in the absence of male members. Then is another picture of a place where Swadeshi Khadi is sold, and they have destroyed all these things. Of course, they may have a special grudge against the Swadeshi-wallahs. This is the photograph of the house of Ajit Kumar Maiti, of Dari-Bera, where the doors and windows have all been taken away, and property destroyed. Here is the photograph of a place of the house of Rakhai Chandra Samanta, of Hadi, where the corrugated tin shed has been destroyed. Here is a picture of a house belonging to Gora Chand Kalsher, of Dundipur village, where the cottage has been destroyed and all the thatched roofs have been brought down."—*Assembly Debates* Vol. VII, No. 5.

(29) *Four American Witnesses*: (Reports by Webb Miller of the *United Press* and Negley Farson of the *Chicago Daily News* of the non-cooperation movement in 1930). "In 18 years of reporting in 22 countries, during which I have witnessed innumerable civil disturbances, riots, street fights and rebellions, I have never witnessed such harrowing scenes as at Dharasana. The Western mind can grasp violence returned by violence.... but I was, perplexed and baffled by the sight of men advancing coldly and deliberately and submitting to beating without attempting defence. During the morning I saw and heard hundreds of blows inflicted by the police, but saw not a single blow returned by the volunteers. In no case did I see a volunteer even raise an arm to deflect the blows from lathis. There were no outcries from the beaten swarajists, only groans after they had submitted to their beating."—*Webb Miller in N. Y. Telegram.*

(30) "Then came a band of fifty Sikhs—and a heroic scene.

The Sikhs are a fierce fighting brotherhood. They wore the kirpan or sacred sword. Mounted Indian policemen who had been galloping across the field, shacking heads indiscriminately, came to a stymie when they faced the little cluster of blue Akali turbans on the slender Sikh men. 'The Sikhs are brave men, how can we hit them ?' It was not fear, but respect. But the police, determined to try to clear the field, at last rushed around the Sikh women and began to hit the men. I stood within five feet of a Sikh leader as he took the lathi blows. He was a short heavy muscled man. The blows came—he stood straight. His turban was knocked off. He closed his eyes as the blows fell, until at last he swayed and fell to the ground. No other Sikhs had tried to shield him. The Sikh gave me a smile and stood for more. And then the police threw up their hands. 'You can't go on hitting a blighter when he stands up to you like that.' "—Negley Frason in the *Chicago Daily News.*

(31) *Fright in India*, By Helen Welshimer: "The real seriousness of the situation in India became a good deal clearer when it was announced that the British government has sentenced a nine-year-old boy to four years in prison because he stood outside a Bombay store and urged shoppers to buy only Indian goods.

"A government that makes such savage war on children is quite obviously inspired by fear, which is nearly always back of cruelty and repression. If England's proconsuls in India are sending nine-year-olds to prison, the proconsuls must be more badly scared than they have ever publicly admitted.

"And, by the same token, if children are courting such sentences —this particular youngster proudly told the court he was 'willing to die for Gandhi'—the movement for independence in India must go clear down to the grass roots. The inference is that the desire for freedom is not confined to a small circle of agitators, as some people would like to have us believe."—*Santa Barbara Daily News.*

(32) *What is Happening in India*: Late Will Rogers wrote in 1932: "Paris, Jan. 28—(To the Editor of the Times): Some queer things going on in the world if you just happenend to have been there and see 'em. England puts 500 more of Gandhi's bunch in jail because they boycott and picket against English goods. Here you have Indians, who constitute one fifth of the world's population, practically at war because they can't do what they want to, yet signboards all over England say, buy British. It's a great world even if you are just looking at it for comedy purposes."

(33) *Shot with Cannon*: Edwards wrote in his book "*Bare Hands And Stone Walls*" the following gruesome story of Indians who fought the "War of Independence" (miscalled mutiny) in 1857:

(i) "One of the punishments devised by victorious superiority and inflicted upon captured insurgents was to tie them over the mouths of heavily shotted cannon and then discharge the cannon. If any one entertains now a doubt that this was done at the Alumbaugh and elsewhere, one has but to refer to the records. In Ball's two-volume *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Volume I, opposite page 410, one will find a picture of this operation, showing a gun exploding and fragments of an Indian hurtling through the air. It appears that some of the bystanders were struck by the flying pieces, heads or legs or arms, and complained that the guns were too heavily loaded. That seems to have been the only complaint in the ranks of the superior."

(ii) "For India is the keystone of the imperial arch. If that goes, all goes, and the most resolutely optimistic of Britons cannot fail to see the keystone slipping. It is saved one year by one desperate and devious expedient and next year by another, but it slips, nevertheless. The choice that really presents itself to the imperialist is between more Amritsars and infinitely greater, more turning of machine guns upon defenceless people, more

slaughters, more tigerish conflicts, more hatred and more seed sowing for future revenge, or the invention of constantly new tricks to win for another brief span another delaying of the inevitable clash. And when it comes the discerning will hear in it the echoing guns of the Alumbaugh (Lucknow)."

"For they will not learn, these rulers, they will not learn; therefore they are unfit to rule even if their motives were pure as the driven snow, still unfit to rule. The horrors of the revenge of superiority after the revolt of 1857 are indelible in the Indian mind, yet must they be burned deeper by other acts of wanton and savage cruelty reminiscent of the Apaches. As note:

(iii) "January 14, 1872, fifteen years after the Alumbaugh, a hand of mad fanatics, about one hundred all told, made an attack upon a town of the Punjab and were easily beaten off and captured. The religious fanatics were Sikhs and so on and not political plotters. So what was done with these madmen? Forty-nine of them were tied over the mouths of cannon and shot to pieces, fashion of the Alumbaugh. No trial, no inquiry, no delay; bind the captives, tie them thus, now the match and so end, with natives to gather up the pieces and clean away the blood. Good work for the natives; teaches them to respect superiority.

(34) *1200 Killed*: "Yes, but there is more still. It is April, 1919, sixty-four years after the suppression of the Rebellion; there is unrest among the Inferiors, agitation, aspirations for freedom, arguings against an alien domination. Meetings of the dissatisfied are held, there is what is called disloyal talk, though how an Indian that talks for India can be disloyal is a puzzle. Criminals take advantage of the prevailing unrest to come into the open and practise their iniquities. Some commit murders, some robberies, some arson. The British commandant in his own words thinks it necessary to teach the mob a lesson and to strike terror into the native hearts everywhere. A peaceful meeting of unarmed folk is held in a public square. The British

commander turns his machine guns upon it and kills then and there about 1200 men, women, and children, wounding more than 3000.',—*Bare Hands And Stone Walls* Published by Scribners, New York.

(35) *4000 Houses Burnt*: That this British policy of barbarism is not new is apparent from the story of burning of four thousand houses in Burma, which I reproduce from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of May 1886. Says the *Indu Prokas.*—

"There is a fearful Nemesis following the work of the British Government in Upper Burma, who are branded as dacoits, still refuse to accept the subjugation of their country as inevitable, and the recent fires are a strange commentary on the assurance of the Viceroy that British rule was received in Burma with cheerful and smiling faces. Four thousand houses were destroyed in one night, and it is feared that if the fires continue at this rate Mandalay will cease to be a town within a month. Two other towns are also reported to have been destroyed. More troops are wanted, and also more money. India is ofcourse ready at hand to bleed, and with her assistance order will no doubt be eventually restored. But at what cost?"

What does Christian America think of this great Christian mission being carried on by the great English rulers ?

CHAPTER XIV

STONE WALLS AND IRON BARS

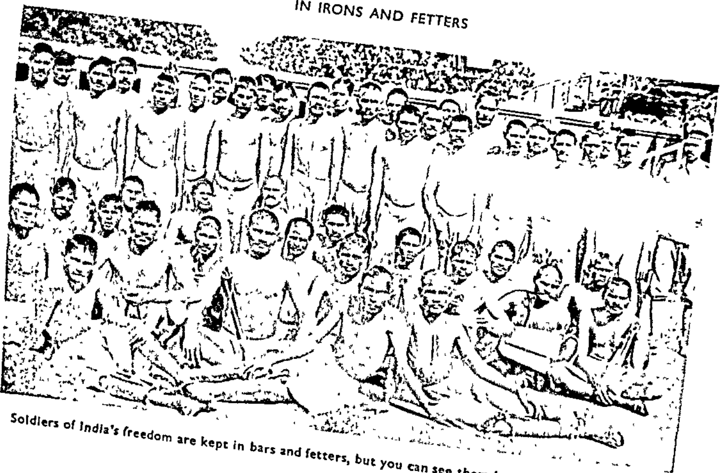
"In the year 1932 alone, a hundred thousand persons were sent to prisons in India for political reasons. The number included thousands of women and children."
"Few people in England realise that misdeeds are being perpetrated by the British in India. Large numbers of men and women, including many of the highest idealism are imprisoned without any charge having made aganist them and without any hope of being brought to trial.

"The elementary liberties that make life tolerable have been taken away from the inhabitants of India, for the crime of desiring self-government. The censorship, combined with British apathy, has made it very difficult for the facts to become known." —*Bertrand Russell*

"The total number of detenus is 2,345, of whom 1,205 are confined in jails and detention camps. Their ages range from the teens to the fifties. Most of them have been in detention for over five years and there is no knowing when and how they are going to be released. All of them are educated and some of them have had very brilliant careers.—The Hindustan Times, Dec., 1936.

The "democratic minded" British press, which fills pages with the horrors of "concentration camps" in Germany, the condition of exiles in Siberia and the victims of Italian adventures in Ethiopia has on the whole entered into a conspiracy of silence in the matter of "His Majesy's guests" in Indian prisons' camp-jails and *detenu* camps. The writer, who was one of those guests not once but four times, could compile large volume on the treatments of Indian political prisoners,

IN IRONS AND FETTERS



Soldiers of India's freedom are kept in bars and fetters, but you can see them laughing at their tyrants.

most of whom are treated worse than murderers and dacoits, but space limits him to just a few verdicts on prison life in India, concluding with his own experiences, as the "Happiest Jail Bird." Though he experienced the life of a criminal in a solitary cell, was dragged about and beaten in prison and suffered all sorts of humiliations (a part of prison life), yet he prefers to give only the pleasant memories of his prison days, and would like to quote others to present the dark side.

(1) *Best Flowers of India* : We begin with the sorrows and sufferings of those thousands of young men and women, called the "detenus." They are the very flower of India's youth and have been in prison for 5 to 6 years, on the average, although some of them have indeed spent their lives in prison.

Mr. Mohan Lal Saxena, a member of the Indian Parliament (Legislative Assembly) who made special investigations into the lot of the unfortunate *detenues* wrote in the *Hindustan Times* as follows :

Detenus' Sufferings : "The humiliating treatment meted out to the detenus, the harrowing account of the suffering of their relations and dependents coupled with the indefinitely long and uncertain period of incarceration and consequent physical and mental suffering are enough to drive any one to insanity and desperation. They have not even been informed of the nature of charges levelled against them or on what condition they would be let off. They are being detained without trial in the name of Law and Order, Law in this case being nothing but the will of an irresponsible and alien bureaucracy and Order simply its enforcement. They have been arrested on the secret information supplied by the police officials and their hirelings. Even in open trials, police officers have been found to concoct false evidence, but once they are made immune from suffering the consequences of their conduct by the shield of secrecy, corruption is bound to creep in. The remarks made by Justice Cunliffe and Henderson regarding

the conduct of some of the police officials and their informers in a Minapore case should have been an eye-opener to all except those who are determined to carry out the indefensible policy of detention without trial at all costs."

Prisoners in Home: "There is an impression in the public that those who are transferred from jails and camps to village and home domicilies are comparatively better off; but it is not so. In certain circumstances their lot is more miserable. Firstly, they are not allowed to associate with other inhabitants of the village and if they do so, they have to suffer the consequences. Secondly they have to travel long distances on foot to make weekly or biweekly reports at the police thana and failure to do so is punishable with long terms of imprisonment. Thirdly, their relations and dependants are not given any allowances although they themselves, because of the restrictions imposed on them, cannot carry on any vocation or calling. Even the allowances paid to them are comparatively less than that paid in jails and detention camps and is hardly sufficient for their bare necessities. It does not require much common sense to say that joint mess arrangements in jails and camps must mean less expenditure than separate arrangements. Then there is difficulty about servants which is partly pecuniary and partly because the menials are generally afraid to work owing to police surveillance. Fourthly, the villages in which they are detained are generally unhealthy and the place of lodging often a rickety shed."

A Detenu Speaks: Let me quote Mr. S. C. Mitra, a former *detenu*, who became member of the Indian Parliament while in prison. Speaking in the Indian Legislative Assembly he made a most forceful speech. I quote extracts.

"I speak from my personal experience when I say that detenues when they return from jail after several years, become practically physical wrecks. I have been asked by several men holding important and responsible positions whether these people are

slowly poisoned in jail. Otherwise why does it happen that when they come out of jail after years they are ruined physically. Though I do not believe that there is any case of deliberate poisoning, must agree that the effect is the same and it is equally ruinous. Not one or two, not a few stray cases, but almost all of them who go to jail even if they had iron constitutions, come back completely wrecked . . . .If you search the whole criminal law of India, out of the 511 sections, there are very few sections which provide punishment for more than three or four years ; while under this very simple measure of my friend Sir James Crerar, they keep men in jail not month after month but year after year under restraint—they are sent to jail for an indefinite, an unending period and it is this indefiniteness itself which tells so very heavily upon a person's constitution."

"*The main argument of the Honourable Home Member is that these detenus are inveterate or dangerous terrorists, but really that is begging the whole question. First prove that they are inveterate terrorists and then put them under any restrictions you please. Because Government call them inveterate terrorists, so they must be indefinitely put under restraint is not a reasonable proposition. The Honourable Home Member justifies his argument on an assumption which he has to prove, that is that they are inveterate criminals. If they are inveterate criminals why not prove it in court of law*" ?

"No definite charges are framed. The detenu is merely informed, 'You are an associate of so and so, you are an enemy of British Government.' In such vague terms are the charges framed against the detenu. I am speaking of my own personal experience. They will say, 'You have smuggled arms from 1926 to 1928.' No definite period will be given so that the detenu may be given a chance to refute these allegations. I do not claim for the detenu that any lawyer should be appointed to defend him, I did not want my case defended by any lawyer, but I merely wanted to be present before the Judge to explain anything that was considered suspicious by the police, but this

humble demand was not granted. I do not even now know what were the specific allegations. If a detenu asks to be allowed, to cite any witnesses, that is not allowed, and even if he asks to be permitted to appear before the Judges to corroborate his statement and to try and convince the Judges of his innocence, or even to know what are the definite charges against him, even these facilities are not allowed to the detenu. If the Government are not able to disclose the names of witnesses against the detenu at least they can give the facts that go against a particular man. But nothing is permitted. Honourable Members might be under the impression that the cases against the detenus go before two judges who are of the status of High Court Judges and that there would be some sort of trial, though no lawyers were present. To disabuse their minds of this impression, I will submit in detail that this so-called examination by High Court Judges is a mere mockery, and as the High Court of Calcutta decided, it is insulting to ask any of the Judges to pass a judgment on untested evidence.

"Then one condition is that no proof is necessary and for a court of law to give more than two years, a sessions trial is necessary. But under the Criminal Law Amendment Act the Government can put a man under restraint for any indefinite period.

"I am not exaggerating at all. There are many detenus who have been now in jail for more than three years, and after another two years if we are still here, we will hear that they are continuing in jail for any number of years. If there is a trial and conviction, there is some period fixed, but here there is no time limit. He may pass his whole life in jail, and sometimes they come out for a few months and are put in jail again."

Her Life's Tragedy—12 Years for Husband 6 Days After Marriage: Mrs. Ambika Joglekar wrote in the *Manchester Guardian*:

"The unique 'Meerut conspiracy case' is over. The result is

WHEN "EMPIRE WAS IN DANGER"



Police hunt for delegates who despite all restrictions reached Delhi to defy the might of British Empire and successfully held the Congress Session.

CHEERFUL MARCH TO PRISON



The Delhi Camp Jail, where arrested delegates from all corners of India were lodged, since the regular prison was already full of political prisoners

out. The judgements vary from transportation for life to three years 'rigorous imprisonment.' Because the persons concerned in the case represented 'Labour,' 'C' class treatment has been awarded to them. In Indian gaols 'C' means the class for ordinary criminals. It means nine hours manual labour with bad food and clothing. After three months' interval they are allowed to write a letter or to have an interview with some relative. As food and rest are necessary to live a life, reading and books are equally important for a middle-class life. In Indian gaols books are supposed to be something dangerous.

"The judgement was delivered on January 16. Not even the relatives were allowed to attend the court. We had to stand outside the gate, waiting for the result. We were promised an interview on the gaol premises. After hurrying three times to the gaol, we were told to come the next day, January 17. On that day I had to stand at the gate nearly three hours, and then only I was able to see Mr. K. N. Joglekar—my husband—for twenty minutes.

"We were married on January 10, 1933. Mr. Joglekar could not be freed on bail or parole, even for a day. Just to sign the marriage deed he was brought to the District Magistrate's Court for an hour. Now he is sentenced for twelve years."

(3) *What the British Delegation Saw*: Mr. N. Krishna Menon who accompanied the British Delegation (sent by the India League of London) in the pamphlet made very serious allegations. Some extracts from the pamphlet are as follows :

"The Government of India does not recognise a category of 'political prisoners.' Under and Order of the 28th May, 1930, prisoners are classified as A, B and C. 'A' class are usually accommodated separately and permitted to wear their own clothes and obtain food of their choice from outside. 'B' Class must wear prison clothes, but many supplement jail food within limits. They are also housed better than 'C' class. The tasks allotted to these two classes must also be suited to the habits of life of the

prisoner in question.

"The majority of the Indian civil disobedience prisoners, men and women, are in Class 'C'. The Home Member of the Government of India stated on the 30th April last year that out of 32,516 person then in prison 196 were in Class 'A,' 1,586 in Class 'B', and the remainder in Class 'C'. The classification is arbitrary. Often a man is in Class 'B', while his brother or wife is in Class 'C'. Courts—magistrate's courts—so closely allied to the police machine, decide this classification. Even where courts have awarded a sentence the Executive, which means the police, has reduced the class given to a lower one.

"The treatment of Class 'C' under the jail rules is the same as that of the common criminal. In actual fact it is worse owing to the vindictive policy adopted towards politicals. A confidential circular issued by the Inspector-General of Prisons in Madras (328/c, dated 30th June, 1932), a copy of which we obtained while the India League Delegation was in India, throws light on the Government's prison policy. Referring to civil disobedience prisoners it says : '*This class requires to be kept in their place and dealt with grimly.*'

" 'C' Class prisoners are housed in association barracks. The one I saw accommodated sixty or seventy. The men were shut in for about twelve hours and the lavatory accommodation for the whole number was inside the barrack itself and partitioned off by a low wall only, Even 'B' Class prisoners who are all shut in for twelve or thirteen hours have their lavatory buckets inside their cells all that time.

"From all the reports that we received, and from what we saw, the food that is given to the prisoners is bad, dirty and quite unfit for human consumption. Many ex-political prisoners suffer from illness due to bad food and conditions in the jails.

" 'C' Class prisoners sleep on earth or stone platforms about eight inches high on which a 'mat' is spread. The 'mat' is made of *coir* like doormats, and according to the jail manuals each mat should last for five years. Indian prisoners are not allowed

sheets or pillows, but may roll up the top part of a mat as a pillow. One towel is given to each prisoner and he may be allowed another one not oftener than once in nine months.

"The majority of 'C' Class prisoners are sentenced to 'rigorous imprisonment,' which corresponds to hard labour in this country. According to the jail manuals the tasks include picking oakum, quarrying, road-making, hauling loads, water raising, breaking stones and grinding grain. The worst form of the prison labour, however, is the oil mill. Political prisoners, and some of them frail in body, are put to this form of entirely inhuman labour. The rules allow an eleven-hour day in summer and a nine-hour day in winter. In practice, the prisoners are made to work the whole daytime without rest.

"Hem Chandra Rassler, an ex-prisoner, told us in Dacca that he worked on the oil mill for ten or eleven hours per day. He was given a few minutes in which to eat his mid-day meal at about eleven o'clock while still on the mill. He was not allowed to wash or rest. He also told us that he had seen two young politicals beaten while still on the mill by convict warders, as a result of which they fainted.

"The testimony of Mr. Pir Buksh, a Mohammedan member of the Frontier Province Legislature, given in a speech in the Council, may be quoted. He said:—

" 'Like prisoners convicted of moral offences they (politicals) are also made to work the oil press and the grinding mill. One day I was sitting in my room in the jail. A prisoner came running to me and said that Pir Shamshed, Kabir Mahamud Jalebi and Gulam Mahumad, who are all educated men (the latter has studied up to the Intermediate and is also a municipal commissioner), were lying unconscious in a cell . . . . I saw a most heart rending scene in that cell. In that dark place I saw three educated men harnessed like bullocks to the oil press lying unconscious.'

"Mr. Mari Singh, an ex-prisoner from Bareilly Jail, stated that 'in oil mills prisoners were made to run like bullocks. They

had to eat while doing their work.'

"If this is the nature of 'work,' punishment is even more mediaeval. Of the tale of illegal beatings, lathi charges inside the prison, of insults, the 'fall-in parade' and terrorisation of youths by hardened criminals I do not propose to write now. What is enjoined and permitted by the jail manuals is enough to illustrate the character of Indian prison administration and the sufferings of political offenders.

"Jail punishments include bar, chain, link and cross-bar fetters, the solitary cell, penal rice, handcuffs at night, the standing handcuff and flogging. More cruel and mediaeval than all is the gunny shirt, the British-Indian equivalent of a hair shirt of the days of the Inquistion. Prisoners are made to wear coarse gunny cloth shirts while working under the Indian sun on very hard tasks. The standing handcuff was described to us as permitting only the forepart of the feet to touch the ground while the upstretched hands of the prisoner were in irons and fastened to a post, wall or tree.

"Overcrowding in jails has led to worse provision of food and clothing. Tattered garments, discarded as unfit, are pressed into service. We heard of a Bengal jail where women prisoners appeared to be compelled to use towels used by those suffering from foul diseases. The complaints of women prisoners were mainly about drinking and washing water which was insufficient ; about the compulsion to feed their children in prison on jail food : about herding with prostitutes and criminals and the assaults of wardresses.

"British India does not allow the United States to claim the monopoly of the Chain Gang of which we have heard so much recently. The statements of Madan Lal Parmi and Bhagat Singh give instances of gangs of prisoners, fifty-four in one case and about twenty in the other, who were chained together at night while compelled to sleep on the verandah in cold weather without blankets, the latter being an unofficial punishment. The rope in one case and chain in the other was passed through the irons

on the wrists of each of the prisoners.

"The Indian prison is in line with the traditions of the Indian police both in its inhumanity and vindictiveness."

Miss Slade's Testimony: Mr. Gandhi's disciple, Mira Ben (Miss Madeline Slade), published an account of the conditions and treatment of women prisoners. She had herself been given Class 'A', but since there was no Class 'A' accommodation in the Arthur Road Jail, Bombay, she was put in with thirty or forty Class 'C' prisoners for about two months.

On her first night in the jail she was locked up with the 'C' Class women prisoners, and she at once noticed that the prisoners lived in continual fear of insults and bullying by the matron.

Herding with Prostitutes: In the latter part of her stay in Arthur Road, her neighbours were three criminals, two thieves and a prostitute, who lived on the same verandah as she did. The criminals were not locked in for the night, while the politicals were locked in from 6 p.m. to 6.30 a.m., during week-days, and from 3 p.m. on Sundays.

Bullying the Prisoners: She describes the sufferings of women Class 'C' prisoners as continual bullying, pin-pricks, harassments, and insults, and that the treatment is designed to crush the spirit of the prisoners.

Little children and babies are not allowed to see their mothers; such interviews as take place are with the prison bars between; prisoners' rations, soaps, hair oil, etc., even where some of these are paid for by the women prisoners, are interfered with and do not reach the people concerned.

The matron and wardresses appear to make a practice of interfering with prisoners at meals and prayers.

(4) *The Theosophist* published an article "Twice-in-gaol" on jail life in India. The following extracts from it show

how the 'C' Class political prisoners in India are treated :

Clothes : "The general prisoners are given two pairs of half pants, rather quarter pants, one sleeveless kurta or shirt, one cap and three blankets. This set has to last at least six months. During the cold season one more blanket and kurta are added, but no shoes. One finds this set scanty, imperfect and inconvenient. The three blankets— to serve as mattress, cover and pillow—are so loosely woven that they keep shedding bits of yarn which look like human hair and always keep flying about throughout the ward and the jail compound. The result is that it is seldom possible for a man to eat or drink anything that does not contain some hair from the blankets."

Utensils : To each prisoner are supplied two iron bowls, one smaller than the other. He eats in one and drinks out of the other. These vessels rust quickly, so that within half an hour water gets coloured ; and food in contact with the metal walls gets so coloured that the prisoner has to be careful to leave the last coating of food in the bowl. Recently they have improved the vessels supplied to 'A' and 'B' Class prisoners."

Sanitary Arrangements : "In the toilet arrangements all sense of human decency has been practically done away with. The latrines are in rows and open at the front. Water (used in India instead of toilet paper) is kept at another place to which the prisoner must walk and at which he must wait for his turn, for only one or two tin mugs are kept there for the use of a large number of prisoners. As water may not be taken into the latrines, each visit to the latrine is divided into two places. This arrangement is simply barbarous."

(5) *My Personal Experiences* : The writer's personal experiences in this connection were very bitter. In one prison, which had 2500 political prisoners huddled together like goats and

sheeps, we were made to undergo "Latrine Parade" during which about five minutes were allotted for the purpose. Whether one had answered the call or not, he had to leave the lavatory and march out in line along with the others. This was a most humiliating practice but we had to put up with it. In another prison, where I was in solitary confinement in a cell about the size of a small bath attached to a hotel room, the lavatory was a small metal pail in the small cell, forcing me to put up with the stinking smell all the time. However much I tried to clean my cell, the neighbouring cells of ordinary criminals (murderers and dacoits) added to the horrible odours. Personally I liked the cell, since it provided me with quiet for study and concentration; and the reader may be astonished to learn that I gained two pounds in the solitary cell. Two loaves made of sand-mixed flour, and some vegetable leaves fried in oil formed lunch and dinner, which was handed to me through the iron bars of my cell. The door was opened for only about twenty minutes for taking a bath, for which soap was provided. And yet I was quit happy in my cell, from where I wrote a letter to an American friend, Mr. Alfred Bingham, Editor of the *Commen Sense*. I wish I could reproduce the letter, but I have lost the copy he gave me on my visit to New York.

"*The Happiest Jail Bird*," was the name given to me by my Editor (M. J. N. Sahni), who was a fellow-prisoner in the Gujarat Jail, where I gained eleven pounds. When some visitors came and asked me "How is it you keep on putting weight, while many have lost ?", my reply was "Always smile, forget the world outside, is the motto of my prison life." The memory of the good old prison days is very thrilling and induces me to share a couple of experiences, which no other prisoner could have enjoyed.

.(1) I was only prisoner who was so much loved and trusted by prison officials (both English and Indian) that I was often

permitted to go out of prison, get a shave, and have breakfast at the house of a jail official who has since been compulsorily retired for his sympathy with his countrymen. On my return I brought twelve copies of my newspaper, the *Hindustan Times*, to be presented to the members of the Cabinet (working Committee) of the Indian National Congress, who were lodged in the Delhi Jail for a short time. I also used to bring a big jar of butter-milk for the leaders. They included the late Mr. V. J. Patel (ex-President of the Indian Parliament), the late Doctor M. A. Ansari, leader of the nationalist Moslems, the late Mr. Deep Narain Singh, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (thrice President of the Indian National Congress), and eight others.

A Noble Englishman: All the credit for treating me as a "pet prisoner" must go to that noble Englishman, Major Webb, who was a part-time Superintendent of the Delhi Jail, besides being the Assistant Director of Public Health and Civil Surgeon of New Delhi. I have many English friends, but he was unique in his nobility of character. I will relate two incidents. First: When the leaders of the Congress were brought to the Delhi Jail, escorted by a heavy police force, I was then the only prisoner in the European ward, awaiting transfer. I went to receive them at the gate (to which a prison official objected), and Major Webb, promptly interfering said: "Chaman Lal, you serve as the host on my behalf, I am a part-time Superintendent, yon are a whole-time honorary Superintendent. Do anything you like, but let not the guests feel uncomfortable." I escorted the leaders to my ward and fixed up everything that was needed. The two weeks I spent in their service were undoubtedly my happiest weeks of that term of imprisonment. At eleven at night, when the police officials and telephone censors went to sleep, I used to ring up my office for the latest news and for copies of the latest telegrams from the Associated Press and the Free Press, through a jail official who has since been dismissed.

(2) *Bridge Party in Prison*: We used to have a real bridge

party every day. Mrs. Deep Narain Singh, who was especially premitted to spend whole day with us, was my partner in bridge. Mr. Patel and Mr. Deep Narain Singh always lost the game. Doctor Ansari also played once a while. Late after 10 and even 11 p. m. I used to see Mrs. Deep Narain out of the prison, where her car was waiting. Visitors by the hundreds were permitted to see us in our rooms, and it was my duty to take them in and out.

(3) *Procession in Prison*: The trial of our group, which included two prominent women (wives of directors of my paper) and sixty young men (who were arrested with us one midnight, while women were picketing liquor shops), lasted for nearly two weeks and was held in the European ward. Hundreds of visitors would come to attend the trial, but only a couple of hundred could be admitted. The rest blocked the road to the prison gate and I was often sent out of the prison to request the crowds to go home. I was daily allowed to go to the reformatory prison, outside the main prison, where my sixty companions were lodged. We used to march in a procession from the reformatory to the main prison, singing national songs, while the crowds cheered us and brought innumerable presents for us. Being under-trial, we were permitted to receive them. I used to share the same table with the magistrate at the time of trial, since I used to report the proceedings of the case myself and my reports appeared in the papers every day covering several columns. I reported proceedings of my five trials in 1928, 1930, 1931 and 1932, (In 1930 I was twice imprisoned), while in 1932 I was acquitted after five weeks' detention in prison.

Noble Christions: The magistrate (Mr. Anderson), who tried me in 1928, when I hit the late Sir Basil Blackett, Finance Minister, with my attache case from my seat in the press gallery of the Indian Diet (Assembly Chamber), acted more like a father and offered to pay the amount of fine that he had imposed

on me. I refused to pay the fine and preferred to go to prison, but he would not agree and he summoned my permanent Counsel, Mr. Asaf Ali, who paid the fine. The magistrate always loved me like a son. The second magistrate, yet another noble Christian, who thrice sent me to prison, as well as my wife and several other relations, and once ordered my arrest, is now my dear friend. His kindness must remain buried in my heart for his own good, since he is still a Government employee.

I will be ungrateful if I do not mention two more noble Englishmen Mr. J. N. G. Johnson, former Governor (called Chief Commissioner) of Delhi Province and Sir Hoarce Williamson, retired Director-General of the Intelligence Bureau of the Government of India. But for their kindness, I would never have been permitted to leave the shores of India. For seven years consecutively I was refused a passport, but the moment the civil disobedience movement was suspended by the Congress, these two officials persuaded the Home Minister of the Government of India to allow me a passport. On previous occasions the Government of India had rejected the recommendation of the provincial chief, but in 1933, they agreed to permit me to proceed to London to attend the World Economic Conference and report the labours of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on India for my newspaper. Since then I have seen a great deal of the world in my three tours round the world and the credit must go to these two Englishmen for all that I have been able to achieve.

How I wish more noble Englishmen like them were sent to India to win the hearts of the people rather than to subdue them by bayonets and bullets. Though the above-mentioned officials were in very high positions, and always carried out the governmental policy of repression, they had a deep admiration for those who were fighting for their country. We will be able to honour such Englishmen when India is free in the near future, and we would welcome such officials as friends, advisers and servants of India, but not as rulers.

How will England respond ?

CHAPTER XV

DAUGHTERS OF INDIA

"O thou, thy race's joy and pride,
Heroic mother, sagest guide,
Fond prophetess of coming good,
How thou hast roused my timid mood."

"The part played by the women is indescribable. When the history of India's fight for independence comes to be written the sacrifices made by the women of India will occupy the foremost place."—M. K. Gandhi.

"I have two little children: ordinarily my place would be in my home. But at a time when my motherland is passing through a life-and-death struggle, I am one of the thousands of India's women and only one of hundreds of Delhi's women who have left their hearth and home and their traditional seclusion and mustered under Mahatma Gandhi's standard to fight the non-violent battle of our motherland's freedom; and yet there are more to come. In India this is the first time since the days of Rani Lakshmi Bai, our great women-warrior ancestor, that we abandon our homes and our children to redeem our motherland from foreign bondage, and threats of neither dungeons nor bullets and merciless beatings can deter us from the duty which we owe to ourselves and coming generations."—Statement of Mrs. Satyavati Devi of Delhi, before the British Magistrate. (Asia, Jan. 1931)

The most glorious chapter in the struggle for India's independence is that of the supreme sacrifice and the inspiring leadership given by the daughters of India, who until recently were regarded as prisoners in the zenana. Who could imagine that those quiet and humble goddesses of piety and sweetness would turn out to be real warriors in the cause of their country and would not only leave their hearths and homes but would march to prison and

cheerfully face bullets, lathi charges and all sorts of tortures? The women of India suprised and electrified the whole country by their unique bravery and unparalleled sufferings. In England women had no doubt suffered to gain their emancipation; and they took part in the French and Russian revolutions; but in no country did the women take part on such a mass scale as in India, despite their illiteracy, the purdah and other social disabilities. The heart of every Indian is filled with joy and respect when he recalls the glorious services of the women of India during the last decade. I myself feel too incompetent to pay them tribute and would rather let our great leader and saviour Mahatma Gandhi speak on the subject.

Gandhi's Tribute: This is what Mahatma Gandhi said at a London meeting about the sacrifices of Indian women: "The part played by the women is indescribable. When the history of this movement comes to be written the sacrifices made by the women of India will occupy the foremost place, and just as with women, also with children, their wonderful awakening has fortified me in my faith that God is with us in this struggle. These young folk had never been organised for such work, never been trained for it. How they came to achieve all these I have not been able to difine, nor has anyone else, whom I have consulted, been able to enlighten me as to who guided them. Only God could have done so.

"Women are amazing. They provide some of the greatest surprises of my life. I have unlimited admiration for women. There seems to be nothing that they cannot do. That is why I believe that some of the greatest personalities of the future will be women.

"I was unprepared for the mass manifestations of women, although I had experience of their capabilities and endurance in South Africa years ago. But these were Indian women living out of their country, already weaned from the traditions and customs of their ancestors.



The late Mrs. Kamla Nehru, (Wife of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru) who gave her life to the cause of freedom.

FREEDOM FIGHTERS



Indira Gandhi .



Sarojini Naidu



Kasturba Gandhi

"Quite different conditions prevailed in conservative India. There, women gently brought up, their lives previously spent in seclusi on and purdah, suddenly thrust aside every consideration. They broke out, risked their lives, suffered blows, injuries and insults, went to prison—women who had never known the world beyond the limits of harem. They acted as independent and freely as if they had been emancipated for generations. Leaders rose from their ranks. Women led men.

"Just because Western women have been emancipated for so long, they have allowed to be built up around them social traditions and legal disabilities. The women of India with few exceptions, secluded from social and public life, had no customs, traditions or prejudices to overcome.

"As far as public activity is concerned, it amounts to the fact that yesterday they were not, and today they are. No necessity for an interim of heart-burning and ungraceful struggle. They could rush the purdah walls, hurl themselves from the gaps, into the world of men and enemies, without selfconsciousness, because there were no artificial standards of man-made codes to restrain or embarrass them in this new world where their presence had neither been reckoned upon, nor catered for.

"Therefore, the Indian woman today, of most recent emancipation, is freer, more independent, a more valuable channel for enterprise and innovation than any of her Western sisters.

"Mrs. Naidu goes about telling everybody 'I am a woman,' asking them to judge her efforts by a woman's standard, and not to confound her way of thinking, her method of arguing, with those of a man. She remains a woman, follows her womanly intuition.

"More often than not, femininity attractively camouflages characters stronger and intellectually higher than those of the world it influences. It is astonishing the way Mrs. Naidu succeeds. We never have reason to question her ability or her statesmanship. She is entrusted with missions of highest diplomacy, and has never failed us.

"Many women will be among the leaders of the new era. They will fight, suffer, endure; they will inspire and uplift; they will administer, direct and govern. Intelligent, ambitious, tenacious, they will be clever enough to guard their birthright of womanliness.

"Civil disobedience is one of the most amazing experiments of the age, something which has not been tried before, whose strength, power and influence are not as yet measured or measurable. It possesses an invincible force which nothing can kill, because it is vital and intangible—like the soul.

"Who do you think are the real rulers of India ?—The women !

"Women in spite of the strict rules of Purdah, in spite of the fact that they have a very inferior position compared with their menfolk, actually hold the reins of Government. Let me give you an instance.

"Once I was engaged in an important conference with several Indian princes in the palace of one of them.

"Suddenly, just as our deliberations had reached a critical stage, I heard from behind the gorgeous draperies at the end of the hall, the faint but unmistakable tinkle of a woman's bangles.

"The prince saw me start. He raised his hand.

"Pray do not mind,' he said. 'That is my principal wife. She knows everything—everything. I trust her with all my most private business and she is a great help to me in my work.'

"Yes, the women rule in India from the highest in the land down to the timid feminine inhabitants of the meanest hovel. They are always together whispering and planning and arranging for their menfolk's future.

"They play a far bigger part in the affairs of the State than people living in these countries can realise, and they are an influence for good."

And now let me tell the reader how the women played their part in the struggle for freedom.

Ode to Freedom : The reader can judge the burning spirit

that prevails among the women of India for the attainment of their country's freedom, from the two songs translated by Mr. N.B. Parulekar and printed in *Asia* for January, 1931.

"One is called *Bhishma Pratigya*, or 'Solemn Oath.' It declares : 'You may throw us down in the nethermost hell, drown us in the deepest ocean, but we will not join our hands and surrender to you. Strike us in twain with the sharpest of blades, burn us in a caldron of boiling oil or flay us alive, if you will, but never an inch will we bow our heads. You may hang us on the gallows, burn us to ashes, but we will not lower our heads nor lose our independence.' Another, called *Azadi Tamanna*, 'Ode to Freedom,' is still more expressive. 'Let life and body go,' it sings, 'but let freedom now be won. The step we have taken for our progress nothing shall make us retrace ; for never, never will we retreat or turn back. Let the enemies drink cups filled with our lifeblood. We are no cowards ; that which we have said, we will do and show. The heads which we have raised no amount of repression or oppression can bend them again. You who have ruined us, load your gun if you dare. Here we stand baring our breasts because your bullets cause no fear. Come ! Display your strength now : for retreat we never will. We will die fighting, and the battle-field will never be cleared till the joy of victory is attained.' Still another song begins : 'Break all the oppressive laws of this unjust rule. O daughters of India, awake ! The drums are beating ; it is the call !' "

Families in Prison : And these drums proved most effective. Thousands of people cheerfully marched to prison, faced the worst beatings, showers of bullets and all kinds of tortures unheard of in the history of India. The credit of inspiring the people must go to the daughters of India, who with babies in their arms smilingly marched in the vanguard. My baby, who accompanied my wife to prison, is always keen on hearing stories of her prison life. My wife, who was twice the "guest of His Majesty's Government," was one of the luckiest of prisoners, since she had

her mother, two elder sisters, sister-in-law and their children, all in the same barracks. Mrs. L. R. Zutshi, a very cultured Kashmiri lady, also had the similar honour of being in prison with her three daughters, all of whom were university graduates. Only their dog remained behind in the house, as the prison authorities refused to let him in, though the poor animal often went to the prison gates to see the family, in the company of a neighbour. Several other families in other provinces had similar prison experiences.

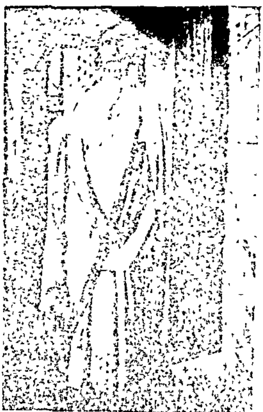
India's Beloved Daughter : The sacrifices undergone by the Nehru family are indeed unique in this respect. The late Mrs. Kamla Nehru (wife of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru) was truly a martyr. She went to prison despite ill-health and on her return, not recovered from her illness, ultimately died last year in Europe, where Mr. Nehru rushed by plane direct from the prison to spend a few weeks beside his devoted wife's death bed. She was indeed the most beloved daughter of her motherland. Her loss was mourned by Indians all over the world. Who in India is not proud of the great services rendered by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mrs. Kamla Devi, Avantikabai Gokhale, Mrs. C. R. Das, and thousands of noble and talented daughters of mother India ? Who can forget the brave daughters of Bengal, Miss Bina Das and dozens of other talented heroines, who are still undergoing imprisonment for long terms in the Andaman Islands and other prisons ? Several of them were imprisoned without trial. The name of Miss Bina Das (who shot at the governor of Bengal, while receiving her B.A. degree at the convocation), will ever shine in the history of India. I am proud to have named my "prison baby" after her. It is indeed impossible to mention one-hundredth of the sacrifices of women in the struggle for independence so I shall quote only the stories of Delhi and Bombay.

Our Gallant Sisters : Though women all over India played a prominent part in the whole struggle, yet the gallant sisters of

TWO HEROINES OF DELHI



Mrs. Asaf Ali, Secretary of the Delhi Woman's League



Smt. Satyavati, who was thrice imprisoned

Bombay and Delhi deserve glorious mention for facing repeated lathi charges and even bullets. The services of Mrs. Kamla Devi, Mrs. Gokhale, Mrs. Captain, Mrs. Asaf Ali, Mrs. Kohli, and Mrs. Satyavati Devi will always remain on the lips of the people of Bombay and Delhi, the two storm centres of the movement in 1930 and 1932. Since my sister Satyavati Devi (whose statement was quoted on the first page of this chapter) was the commander and leader of the movement in Delhi, I feel it rather awkward to write much of her part and the parts played by her hundreds of comrades, most of whom had never come out of their palatial homes because of the Purdah system. But they discarded the Purdah, marched to prison and put new life into the whole movement. I would let an outside observer describe the scene. I quote again from *Asia*: "In Delhi about five hundred women, clad in saffron *saris*, marched in procession in defiance of a government order which prohibits an assembly of more than four persons. Woman volunteers, posting themselves at the entrance of temples, dissuaded men and women wearing foreign cloth from entering the places of worship. The picketing conducted by women against imported cloth and liquor in Delhi was so thoroughly organised that the cloth dealers had to lock up their foreign stock, seal it and hand over the keys to the women's committee, pledging themselves not to undertake the sale of foreign cloth until 'Government has come to an understanding with Gandhi.'

"The Secretary of the Delhi Piece Goods Association, in his letter to the Secretary of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, describes in the following words the deadlock created by women: 'It is an absolute truth that not a single yard of foreign cloth can change hands at any price in any part of British India. In conclusion we especially wish to impress it upon you that, unlike resolutions of cancellation passed by the Delhi Hindustani Mercantile Association, we have stoutly stood out for the sanctity of contracts. But the position today is such that it is humanly impossible for any one to fulfil his contract. Apart from being unable to sell a yard of foreign stuff, it is even impossible for

banks to forward goods to outstations from Delhi, owing to intense picketing at certain special strategic points.'

"The liquor shops in Delhi are practically closed down because of picketing by women. To consider the situation nearly all the shop-owners gathered in one of the shops. As soon as this shop was reported to be open, it was picketed by women the whole day. The siege continued till eleven at night with all ingress and egress completely blocked by woman volunteers. At about midnight the police arrived with buses, arrested the women, dispersed the large crowd that had collected outside and enabled the liquor salesmen to go home after nearly sixteen hours of confinement."

Writer an Eye-Witness: It may be interesting to mention that the writer, who had come out of prison only two weeks before, was arrested with the ladies on this occasion, since he protested against police misbehaviour, and the illegal arrest of women who had disobeyed no law.

Sixty young men from the crowd followed the writer and offered themselves for arrest. They were not volunteers, but they were so much inspired by the arrest of the ladies that they decided to share their lot. In all, seventy-four of us (thirteen ladies and sixty-one young men) were taken to prison at 1 a.m. The city was wild with enthusiasm next day. The ruler of the province (who is an old personal friend of mine and a noble Englishman) was shocked, and the government released eleven ladies without trial and offered a public apology for their arrest. The two ladies left in prison were Mrs. Kohli and Parbati Devi, whose husbands were both directors of my paper, the *Hindustan Times*. And it may be interesting to mention that I was asked to stay with them in the European ward during our trial, since the prison ward was rather unsafe because it was a prison for ordinary male criminals. Our trial lasted for two weeks when we were all sentenced and sent to different prisons. The magistrate shared my lunch with me in my cell, before he announced the order. The same magistrate thrice sent me to prison and once ordered

my arrest, but I still count him among my sincere friends and we lived together as friends in a house in London in 1933, when I went to attend the World Economic Conference.

Bombay Women Lead: The part played by the women of Bombay was admittedly unique in the history of India. One after another came and served as "Dictator," leading thousands to face bullets and blows. The names of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mrs. Kamla Devi, Mrs. Gokhale, Mrs. Hansa Mehta, Mrs. Munshi, Mrs. Sofia Khan, Mrs. Captain and Khurshed Ben are household words in India. Mrs. Hansa Mehta is the daughter of an ex-Prime Minister of Baroda and Bikaner, two important States in India. When her father went to attend the Round Table Conference in London, she went to prison. "She herself was brought up as luxuriously as a princess, and her family traditions are generally on the side of loyalty to the British. Just before she went to jail, she was serving as sixth dictator of the War Council and President of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee. Five preceding holders of that post had already been jailed. Like many of her colleagues, she had previously been engaging in social service, conducting a school for Untouchables in Bombay and doing similar educational work. She had also, some years earlier, been a delegate to the International Social Conference at Washington."

Mrs. Munshi has recently been returned unopposed to the Bombay Legislative Assembly and along with her husband has been on the corporation for many years. They are one of the most beloved couples in Bombay. Mrs. Gokhale has a life-long record of service. I quote her interesting interview given to Mr. Parulekar and published in *Asia*: "How is it," I asked Mrs. Avantika Bai Gokhale, an enthusiastic follower of Mahatma Gandhi and a well-known woman leader, "that Sir John Simon and his British colleagues never mention in their report anything suggesting that Indian women have political consciousness?"

Mrs. Gokhale smiled and replied: "The Simon Commission

never saw women interested in politics. The first news about a woman's offensive was reported to England not by British officials but by British bankers, importers, brokers and tradesmen in India, who sent cable after cable to their head offices, telling how women were killing their trade. We are not surprised at the forgetfulness of the Simon Commissioners."

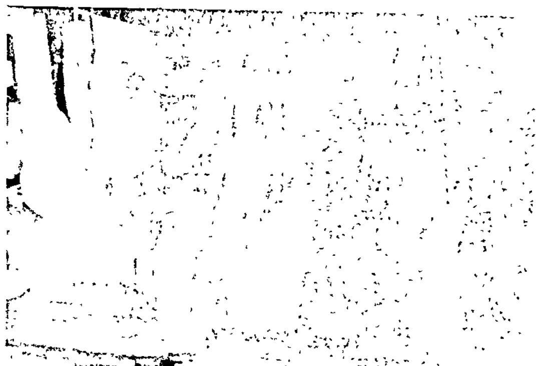
"Mrs. Avantika Bai Gokhale is typical of the woman leaders in her many-sided activities. For nine years she has been continuously a municipal councilor of Bombay. Also she has been an editor of *Hind Mahila*, a vernacular weekly of Bombay, an advisory councilor to three of the largest hospitals in the city and a parton of at least a half-dozen educational institutions. Though from a well-to-do family, she lives a simple life. She has not kept a servant for twenty-five years. She does not purchase one *anna's* worth of foreign cloth, her husband told me. She herself spins three hours a day, to provide for her own cloth, teaches three hours in her own school and attends for three hours to her corporation and other social work.

There are hundreds of such noble daughters of Mother India, who are devoting their lives to the service of their people.

Their Glorious Sacrifices : Although the history of the sufferings of Indian women for the cause of freedom is long one, space permits the inclusion of only a few cases, cited from the reports of the British Delegation appointed by the Indian League in London. Miss. Ellen Wilkinson, M. P., was one of the members of the Delegation.

(1) *Attacks on Women and Children* : "The worst cases of ill-treatment of women and children have, like most of the excesses and atrocities, occurred in the villages and inside the prisons. In the towns, women have received lathi blows, but on the whole the proportion of women who have taken active part in the civil disobedience movement in 1932 is less than in 1930-31. Statements have been made in Legislatures, and by police and executive

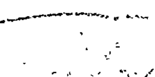
ON TO FREEDOM



OPEN THE PRISON GA[illegible]



Hundreds of *similar bands* of India's daughters cheerfully marched to prisons defying the "Lawless British Rule".



officials to us, which *openly admit that the treatment* meted out to women civll resisters is intended to frighten them away by making such participation dangerous to their persons and their self-respect.

Ill-treatment and excesses include :

1. Taking women resisters on polico lorries and leaving them far way in lonely places.
2. Threats of violence and actual beatings.
3. Abuse, indecent suggestions, and insults.
4. Compulsion to travel (as prisoners) in male custody.
5. Rape and indecent assault, etc.

The'extent of ill-treatment to which women have been subjected has varied from province to province, and our information is that in Bombay City, women volunteers and workers have, on the whole, been better treated. Madras, City and Province, appears to have a bad record. Bengal, especially in the villages, appears, to have had the worst of this form of police vindictiveness. In Calcutta itself, we were informed that such beating of women as has been done has mainly been carried out by sergeants. In Bombay, Congress people told us that the ordinary police rarely beat women, while for the women volunteer and their captain (who did not speak a word of English) the police seem to have great respect. Women in rural areas of the Bombay Presidency, Gujarat in particular, were subject to maltreatment.

(2) *Caning of Women* : The Delegation arrived at Siddapur, Bombay Presidency (Kanarese area) on September 1st, 1932. The officials and the police whom we met assured us that all that appeared in Congress bulletins was untrue. Policemen never seized stocks of foodstuffs, grain or funds as alleged by Congress, and in no case were women beaten.

While we were with the Mamlatdar and Circle Inspector of Police, shouts and cries were heard in the street below. An old women approached us and spoken in Kanarese. This was interpreted to us. She said that many women had been arrested and

among them was her daughter, who had been beaten by the police. The Inspector and the Mamlatdar were unable to give any explanation. The latter asked us to go with him to the police compound and see the prisoners. Squatting on the verandah were fifteen women and two girls, the latter aged seven and nine. The Sub-Inspector who had been with us at the beginning was now here and was walking up and down before the women looking at them fiercely.

The Women's Story: They had come into town half-an-hour after the Delegation's arrival. They were determined to make a demonstration. A crowd had followed them; the shouting we heard in the bungalow was the shouting of the people. The Sub-Inspector and his policc dispersed the crowd, arrested the seventeen women who had come from outlying villages and had caned them on the way to the police station. They made no resistance and were non-violent, and yet they were struck from behind by the police as they were marched off.

Injuries: On the right shoulder of one a recently-made stripe was plainly visible; another had a head-contusion; a third showed a mark on her arm, and the widow who seemed to be in charge of the demonstration displayed a badly bruised arm which she said had been done by the police.

Official Admissions: We inquired if they were arrested. The reply was: "They are not arrested, sir, they are only detained. They will be released to-night."

To further questioning as to why they were held at all in police custody, the Mamlatdar replied: "These women must not come into town making . . . . demonstrations."

Asked about the beating, he replied: "I know nothing about that. I was not there."

He, however, agreed that the women had been beaten, and the police Sub-Inspector who was still present, did not deny that the

women had been caned.

On being further pressed for the reason for beating the women, the magistrate said: "Others must be shown that they can't do this sort of thing. They will be released and no harm will come to them."

While the discussion was going on the women protested against the Sub-Inspector (who had done the beating), and he shot out, "You will get worse than this."

We took up the case with the Circle Inspector at the bungalow, later, and he denied knowledge of the facts of the case, but warned us that he knew of a case in which complaints had been made to Mr. Clee, Home Secretary to the Bombay Government, and in this case it was found that one woman had beaten all her arrested companions in order to make out that the police beat women.

We subsequently learned that the women were released at dark that night, when it was raining very heavily. No food was given to them and they were sent out of the town to walk many miles back to their villages.

(3) *A Hospital Case*: We took a statement concerning Mani Devi Temmana, of the village of Vasare, Ankola. She, a widow of about forty, refused to vacate her house, which had been attached under the law for non-payment of land revenue. The head-constable entered the house and beat the woman with his shoes until she was unconscious. She was then dragged out of the house and left in the field. Her neighbours picked her up and took her to Ankola in an unconscious condition. She was admitted to the public hospital for treatment. The incident took place ten or twelve days prior to our visit.

(4) *Leaving Women Stranded*: The practice of taking women volunteers and pickets miles away is one of frequent occurrences. It has often been denied by Government, but in Madras and Gujarat we heard of many instances. The matter was raised in the Madras Legislature by an ex-Minister, Mr. A. Runganatha

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Mudaliar, M.L.C. who asked the Home Member whether, on the 14th January, 1932, the police took some ladies from the Gandhi Ashram, Komeravole in a car and left them in Pullaganta, twelve miles from the Ashram.

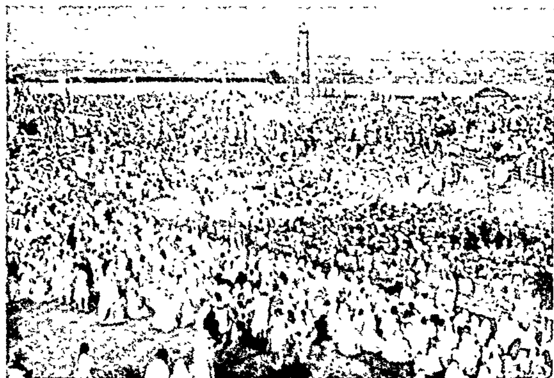
(5) *Mrs. Nehru Beaten* : Mrs. Motilal Nehru, the widow of the late Pandit Motilal Nehru (and mother of the present President of the Indian National Congress) was witnessing a Congress demonstration in Purshotamdas Park, Allahabad, on the 8th April, 1932. She was pushed off from her chair and fell down. She was beaten with lathis on her body and head. She was bleeding from the wound on her head and fainted.

Mr. Donaldson, the District Magistrate of Allahabad, issued a communique on the 12th of April about this incident, in which he quoted a "Congress Bulletin," which, he said, alleged that Mrs. Motilal Nehru had stated that she was beaten by a European officer. Mr. Donaldson denied this, as Mr. Measures, the District Superintendent of Police who was the only European officer present at the incident, had "denied it emphatically." The communique does not deny that Mrs. Nehru was beaten or that she was wounded.

(6) *Rape Cases* : On the 3rd of December (after we had left India), Mr. S. C. Mitra, Member of the Legislative Assembly, placed in the Library a copy of the report of an investigation of sixteen villages made on his behalf by an ex-captain, who served the Empire during the war. Mr. Mitra, in his speech, refers to that part of the Report dealing with the oppression of women :

"He (the ex-captain) gives instances of two women on whom rape was committed. I have their photographs, with their statements and thumb impressions, which I place on the table of the House for the inspection of the Honourable Members, as well as that of the Government. It is known that in Eastern countries chastity is so highly valued that when a woman loses her chastity she is outcasted. Therefore no woman in India will ever make

WHEN "JOHN BULL" BEGGED FOR TRUCE



A Panaramic view of the Karachi Congress session which ratified the famous "Gandhi-Irwin" Pact.

INDIA'S BRIGHT JEWELS



India's women leaders pleading for their country's emancipation. Mrs. Pandit (Nehru's sister) addressing a women's conference.

a false statement that rape was committed on her. I read one of them. In the statement she says her name is Kusum Kumari Mandal. On the 15th of September, a Thursday, she was sleeping with her husband. At about midnight a contingent of police came and took away her husband and all the male members of the adjoining house. Some time after, her brother-in-law alone returned. Afraid to live alone, she went to her brother-in-law's house. She was in bed with her sister-in-law and other female members. A Pathan policeman came and took away her brother-in-law. That policeman came back and with the help of a torch-light picked Kusum up and forcibly dragged her to her house and beat her; and when she screamed, he gagged her and committed rape on her. Her thumb impression and statements are laid on the table of the House.

"There are six other statements of Kherankari Barnek, Ginvala Roy, Bilashim, Parul Bibi, Beshnu Maiti and Saraswathi Pal, who definitely alleged that attempts were made to outrage their modesty. I shall not go into details . . . ."

Imagine, how much longer can such a Government exist?

CHAPTER XVI

SAVIOURS OF THE EMPIRE

"When I first came to Madras, I asked why there was no law against adulteration of foods. I was told that such a law, if it were enacted, would only increase the opportunities of the police for extorting bribes and blackmail. I looked into the matter and discovered that the policeman's pay was not enough for him to live on."

—Professor Gilbert Slater

"Sir, it would be sheer madness on the part of the Government to expect that we should develop in us a sort of statutory affection for the Government agents who go and subject our sisters and daughters to lathi charges, and, if we are forbidden to break their heads in retaliation, surely do not expect us to love them."

—B. R. Puri, M.L.A.

(Assembly Debates, 26th September, 1932)

An individual's character is judged by the company he keeps and a government's morale could similarly be judged by the doings of those who are meant to preserve "Law and Order." The policemen in India are often described as "Saviours of the Empire" and glowing tributes are paid by British officials to the loyalty of the police force, but very few people outside India know the real character, and doing of these allies of our rulers. Volumes could be compiled on the subject but I will content myself with quoting just a few high British officials and some latest news stories which reveal the character of the defenders of British rule in India. My heart is full of sympathy for ignorant policemen, who perform all barbarous acts just for six dollars a month (while an English sergeant in India gets nearly ten times their salary). I have also paid due praise to hundreds

of noble policemen, who I am proud to say, are contributing their full share in the independence struggle. I have presented both sides of the picture without any bias. In fact I feel ashamed to depict our policemen in dark colours, but since they are serving as tools of a tyrant power, they must get their share of credit and discredit. Personally I blame their illiteracy and ignorance, (for all that the Government must share the responsibility). It is true that recently some university graduates, troubled by starvation, have applied for police jobs at six dollars per month and some have been recruited, but generally ignorant, illiterate and brutish persons from backward areas are preferred by English officers even to-day.

Now let me present the reader with the verdict of high officials on police methods. Space compels me to quote only a few instances, though I have over one hundred of them in print. (These official verdicts are reproduced from a pamphlet published by an Englishman).

(1) *Governor's Verdict*: "In no branch of the administration in Bengal is improvement so imperatively required as in the police. There is no part of our system of government of which such universal and bitter complaint is made, and none in which, for the relief of the people and the reputation of the Government, is reform in anything like the same degree called for. In the Lieutenant-Governor's judgement, without any hesitation whatever, the improvement of the police must, in the interests of the people and of good government, take precedence over every other project in Bengal." —(Sir John Woodburn, late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to the Government of India, December 12, 1901).

(2) "The Commission desire, as the result of their inquiries, emphatically to record their full concurrence in the views of the late Sir John Woodburn as above expressed. There is no province in India to which these remarks may not be applied, though there is no other province in which

the necessity for real reform is more urgent than in Bengal."—(*Report of Indian Police Commission appointed by Lord Curzon, Parl. Blue Book, C-D, 2478,* p. 14,1905)

(3) *Curzon Commission Report* : "The Commission regret to have to report that they have the strongest evidence of the corruption and inefficiency of the great mass of investigating officers of higher grades. The forms of this corruption are very numerous. It manifests itself in every stage of the work of the police station. The police officer may levy a fee or receive a present for every duty he performs. More money is extorted as the investigation proceeds. The station-house officer will sometimes hush up a case on payment of his terms . . . ."

"The evidence before the Commission shows them that the practice of working for confessions is still exceedingly common. It is most objectionable. On the one hand it leads to gross abuse of power; and, on the other hand, quite inexplicable instances occur of innocent people making 'confessions."—(*Curzon Commission*, p. 115.)

"*The Commission have the strongest evidence that the police force is, as a whole, regarded as far from efficient, and is stigmatized as corrupt and oppressive. Honourable exceptions and mitigating circumstances cannot efface the general impression created by the evidence recorded. There can be no doubt that the police force throughout the country is in a most unsatisfactory condition, that abuses are common everywhere, this involves great injury to the people and discredit to the Government, and that radical reforms are urgently necessary.*"—(*Curzon Commission*, p. 21.)

"Mr. Mackarness asked the Under Secretary for India whether the Secretary of State's attention had been called to the Report of Mr. Halliday, Commissioner of Police in Calcutta, and whether it was a fact that in the course of the last year 1 sergeant, 4 head constables, and 65 constables were dismissed from the service of whom 2 head constable and 15 constables were dis-

missed for taking bribes, that 1 head constable and 7 constables were judicially convicted of crime; that 1 head constable and 22 constables were dismissed for illegal acts: and that, in addition, *over 500 inspectors, sub-inspectors, sergeants, head constables, and constables were punished departmentally for various offences?"*

(4) *Master of Elibank*: "The number of punishments inflicted appear to show that the responsible officers are exercising proper supervision. That being so, the Secretary of State deprecates inquiries, which may have the effect of lowering in the public estimation a body of men which is loyally doing its best in difficult circumstances, and upon which the public must rely for their security."—(From *Hansard*, 27th July, 1909.)

The Master of Elibank: "The percentage of constables unable to read and write in the police forces of three provinces is as follows:

Bengal	65 per cent
Bombay	48 per cent
Madras	8 per cent

Mr. Buchanan: "The pay of police constables varies from 7 rupees to 20 rupees a month, and of head constables from 12 to 35." (*i. e., police constables 2s. 4d. to 6s. 8d. per week, and head constables 4s. to 11s. 2d. per week*).

—*Hansard*, 23rd February, 1909.

(5) The *Spectator* published in its issue of November 13th, 1909, the following grave statement by a correspondent about the Indian Police:

"The Indian courts know that torture is occasionally used to extort false confessions. They, therefore, suspect every confession to be false, and, in practice, decline to convict on a confession unless it is strongly corroborated."—*Sir Andrew Fraser's Report.*

"In 1902 Lord Curzon, then Viceroy of India, found it neces-

sary to appoint a commission of leading Indians and Anglo-Indians to investigate the growing scandals in connection with the administration of the police in India. It was presided over by Sir Andrew Fraser, late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. It visited every province in India, and examined upwards of 600 witnesses. Its report was presented to Parliament in 1905, and contained the following sentences :

" 'Everywhere we went we heard the most bitter complaints of the corruption of the police. The forms of this corruption are very numerous. Suspects and innocent persons are bullied and threatened for giving information which they are supposed to possess. If, in the police officers's opinion, enough evidence is not thus obtained to secure a conviction, he will not hesitate to bolster up his case with false evidence. Deliberate association with criminals in their gains, deliberately false charges against innocent persons, on the ground of private spite or village faction, deliberate torture of suspected persons, and other most flagrant abuses occur occasionally. What wonder is it that the people are said to dread the police ?' "

"This terrible indictment—not surpassed by Mr. Gladstone's denunciation of the Neapolitan police in 1861—has been in the hands of the Government of India since 1903. What has been done to remove this blot upon our civilisation ? Why, hardly a mail comes from India without bringing fresh evidence of this intolerable oppression of our fellow subjects : evidence, not from agitators, but from British judicial officers of the highest standing, nay, even from the police themselves."

(6) *Policemen in Villages* : "Another very serious ground of complaint against them (the police) is the unnecessary severity with which they often discharge their duties. A body of police comes down to the village, and is quartered in it for several days. The principal residents have to dance attendance on the police all day long and for days together. Sometime all the villagers are compelled to be in attendance, and inquiries degrad-

ing in their character are conducted *coram populo*. The police officer, owing to want of detective abilitity or indolence, directs his efforts to procure confessions by improper inducements, by threats, and by moral pressure. It is easy, under the conditions of Indian society, to exercise strong pressure and great cruelty without having recourse to such physical violence as leaves its traces on the body of the victim. What wonder is it that that the people are said to dread the police, and to do all they can to avoid any connection with a police investigation? Deliberate association with criminals in their gains, and deliberately false charges against innocent persons on the ground of private spite or village faction, deliberate torture of suspected persons, and other most flagrant abuses occur occasionally."—(*Curzon Commission, p. 17*)

(7) Government Insults Judges: From the same pamphlet I reproduce this story which shows how the Government insulted English judges, who were honest enough to acquit an innocent woman charged of murder of her husband. The judges strongly denounced the police torture practised on the woman. The story begins;

"A woman named Gulab Bano was convicted early in 1908, upon her own confession, of poisoning her husband, and sentenced by Mr. Kennedy, a Sessions Judge, with the concurrence of three Indian assessors, to be hanged. She appealed to the Chief Court at Lahore, consisting of Mr. Justice Robertson and Mr. Justice Rattigan, who in December of that year, set aside the conviction on the ground that the confession was most probably *extorted* by outrage of the most horrible kind inflicted on the woman by the police. The Judges exhorted the Executive in earnest language to institute a most searching inquiry into the conduct of the police. Nevertheless, for nine months the world heard nothing, and the police continued in the service of the Government. At the end of that time appeared a 'Resolution by the Government of the Punjab completely discrediting the views.

both of Judges and of the prison doctor, who examined the woman and completely exonerating the police. The 'Resolution' purports to be the result of a secret enquiry. But no one knows by whom it was held, except that it was by the police. No one knows who was examined, ecxept that none of the police implicated were cross-examined. Parliament has received little information on the subject."

Here is the horrible story of what the police did to the woman, in the very words of the official 'Resolution,'

"On the evening of June 7th she complained to the matron of the jail that the police had maltreated her. The hospital attendant was summoned, and to him Gulab Bano (the woman) made a statement to the following effect: 'I was hung to the roof by the police (superintendent and two head constables) in my village during the investigation, with a rope on my legs, and a baton smeared with red chillies was thrust into my anal opening.'

The matter was reported the next day to the Civil Surgeon, who examined the woman and found that she was suffering from fever, and was in a weak state. He ordered her to be prepared for examination, and next morning examined her, and found her, to use his own words, 'terribly inflamed and ulcerated, a condition which, in my opinion, could only have been caused by an assault similar to that described by the prisoner.'

"He subsequently added that the assault might have been committed on or about May 12th (the date given by the woman), but more probably about June 2nd. To the District Judge the woman gave a 'very clear and detailed account' of how the police had first beat and kicked her with the object of making her confess, then tied a rope round her feet and suspended her from a rafter of the roof. Then (so the official account runs) 'a police baton, smeared with red peppers, was thrust into her rectum.' She described minutely how the red pepper was ground, mixed with water, and applied to the baton, and what part each of the policeman concerned took in the proceedings.

"*Under this* agony she confessed to having poisoned her husband. She retracted the confession on June 7th, first to the matron of the jail *and then to the hospital assistant and the civil* surgeon, and on the 10th formally before the district magistrate. Nevertheless, she was committed by him for trial, and convicted and sentenced to be hanged by the Sessions Judge. How could this possibly come about ?"

Why Was the Woman Committed: The answer of the Chief Court is clear (the Judges saying, by way of preface, that "they would not differ from the finding save for reasons which, in their opinion, rendered it impossible to uphold the conviction") :

"We find, on looking through the record, that evidence distinctly favourable to the unfortunate woman has been, if not suppressed, at all events not brought forward into Court on her behalf. This evidence was known only to the police authorities. We are constrained with regret to observe that the learned Sessions Judge has made frequent references to some case tried in the Peshawar district, in which the accused was apparently concerned. Clearly the record of that case was wholly inadmissible, and was produced by prosecution, in our opinion, must unfairly, for the sole purpose of prejudicing the Court against the accused. It is, therefore, a matter of regret that the learned judge should have allowed it to be referred to . . . . It is surely too much to suppose that this did not affect the mind of the Sessions Judge in the case before him. Apart, therefore, from all other considerations, it is obvious that the accused was gravely prejudiced in the trial by the reception of evidence which was inadmissible *per se*, and could only have been adduced for the purpose of alienating the sympathy of the Court from her."

Secret Enquiry by the Executive: *"The Government of the Punjab finally came to the conclusion that the Sessions Judge was right, the Appeal Judges were wrong, and that the unfortunate woman probably inflicted this horrible torture upon herself. After*

a secret enquiry, the unanimous judgement of the Chief Court of Appeal of the Punjab is treated as wrong, the doctor's evidence set aside, and the police implicated are acquitted and retained as the instruments of the Executive in the administration of justice."

Death of the Woman: "The acquittal of, and the order for the discharge of, the woman dated from December 12th, 1908. Then comes a deplorable and impressive fact. The poor woman 'died of fever on January 10th at the village of Ganda Kass, Police Station Pindi Gheb,' to quote the official account. But the extraordinary thing is that though she died within a few weeks of the delivery of the Chief Court's judgement, yet no one in India, or here, seems to have been made acquainted with the fact of her death until about October, 1909. During the intervening nine months the Government 'enquiry' went slowly and silently on. Frequent questions were asked in Parliament with no result. At last came an elaborate decision by the Lieutenant-Governor to the effect that the police were entirely innocent. But not one word was said to convey to the world that the most important witness, namely, the poor woman herself, had not been examined, and had been dead for nine months. Was there any inquiry as to how her fever was caused, any medical report, or any inquest ?"

Judges' Reply to the Executive : "As soon as the Government decision appeared the Judges took the almost unprecedented course of saying that they would formally reply to it in open court. Accordingly, on November 20th, 1909, at Lahore, they read a long and carefully prepared 'order,' recapitulating in full detail the grounds on which they had made the grave reflections upon the police. They again asserted that they did not in any way prejudice the case against the police, but that their suspicions still remained. They laid stress upon the fact that for three or four days the poor woman was taken by the police away from the jail without any warrant, and 'was

returned to jail in a deplorable condition.' "

To cut the story short it is enough to say that the Government added insult to injury by writing to the Chief Court (the highest court of the province) as follows :

"If your lordships find yourselves unable to concur in his decision, the Lieutenant-Governor regrets that it should be so, but so far as the Government is concerned, the decision is a final one, and as such has been communicated to the Head of the Police."

Such is the respect shown by the Executive in India for the highest court in province.

(8) *Witnesses Disappear* : "A case of dacoity was being tried by the Barisal Special Tribunal (Court). The Commissioners asked the defence to produce their witnesses. The latter were called upon to appear. But the witnesses were absent. Babu Radha Charan, the attorney for the defence, told the Commissioners that the witnesses were present at the Court till a short while ago, when the Thanedar (Chief of Police post) threatened them in case they testified for the defence. The witnesses got scared and disappeared. On investigation the Commissioners found that this charge against the Chief of Police post was true. No punishment was meted out to him, though." (*The Himarya*, of *Lahore, August 27th 1915*).

(9) *Dead Woman Returns* : Mr. Kitchen, the English District Magistrate of Lyallpur (Punjab), has just concluded the hearing of a case in which two police officers and a Zaildar (a Government official) were charged with manufacturing false evidence and extorting confession by torture. The case was as follows :

"A widow named Musammat Santi disappeared. While an enquiry into her disappearance was being made, the headless form of a woman was found in the neighbouring canal. It was identified as that of Santi, and a nephew of hers named Pal Singh confessed to having murdered her. Full details of the crime and

the disposal of the body were given. The hangman's noose was pretty nearly round Pal Singh's neck, when suddenly one day Santi—the 'deceased woman'—herself turned up and claimed that she was as sure as anything alive.

"Now, it is most extraordinary to see a murdered person turn up alive during the trial of the accused.

"But what is still more extraordinary is the spectacle of a man confessing a murder (which he has not really done) and thereby making himself liable to be hanged. Pal Singh, the accused in this case, told the Court that he had confessed because he was most brutally tortured by the police, and because his women folk had been insulted and outraged by the police officers.

"The District Magistrate, reads the sequel, let the Police officers involved go without any punishment whatsoever."

(*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta, July 27th, 1915)

(10) *Child Sentenced for Playing with Toy Pistol*: "A five-year-old boy of Muhshiganj Road, Kidderpore (Bengal), had a toy pistol purchased for him for one anna (2 cents) on August 8th, last, the child was playing with it, but could not explode the paper cap. A twelve-year-old lad showed him how to do it. The boy was at once arrested by a constable and marched off to the Watganj Thana (Police Station) with the toy firearm. The boy was eventually sent up for trial at Alipur and the Court (English Judge) fined him three rupees (one dollar)." (*Bengalee*, Sep. 17th, 1915).

Three Latest Stories: And here are three of the latest instances of policemen indulging in crimes :

(11) *Sub-Inspector Arrested for Bomb-planting*: "Moga, June 22. Pandit Avtar Krishan Kaul, Deputy Superintendent of Police, Ferozepur, arrested S. Kirpal Singh, suspended Sub-Inspector of Police, Nihalsinghwala, under Section 151, Cr.P.C., on June 20.

"A few days ago, S. Kirpal Singh was suspended by the Superintendent of Police, Ferozepur, and was sent back to Police Lines.

"The allegations against him were that he got planted 3 bombs, through a Mahammedan, in the house of Jagat Singh, 'Lambardar' of Himatpura."

(12) *Police Officer Arrested for Murder*: "Agra, July 1, Mr. Measures, Superintendent of Police, Agra. has taken into custoday the Station Officer, Mirza Zahad Hussain, of Thana Jetpur, District Agra, in connection with the alleged murder of a 'Chowkidar,' whom he was stated to have beaten."—*A.P.I.*

(13) *Policemen in Custody—Horrible Story of Man Beaten to Death*: "Muzaffarnagar, May 3. Between the night of 27th and 28th March, 1936, one Kalo Chamar of Mowana, who was in search of his wife and was putting up at the Dharmshala of L. Nihalchand, and one Rahmat Ali of Gangoh District Saharanpur, who had a female deer with him and was sleeping at Nabi Bax's shop near Shamli motor stand, were arrested by the Akbari Outpost police constables, on suspicion, for being chalaned under section 109 Cr. P.C. It was alleged that Rahmat Ali behaved rudely and the constable getting enraged, gave him a severe beating so that he began bleeding at the mouth. Rahmat Ali cried for water, but as no water was given to him he tried to quench his thirst by the very mud which was wet with his own blood and ultimately died, in this pitiable condition. His dead body was, it was alleged, thrown in the Ganges Canal. On enquiry by Mr. Bashir Ahmed Khan, Inspector, and the local C.I.D., Thakur Singh, Habibul Rahman, constables, and Balwant Singh Naik, have been taken in custody"

Noble Policemen: While I have filled pages with the dark side of the Indian police, I feel it my duty to express my gratitude to hundreds of those policemen and officers who have a very high

character, deep love of the country an respectful feeling for those who are in the vanguard of the movement. From my personal experience I could give names of dozens of officials both English and Indian who have been very sympathetic towards our movement. Many of the Indian officials have helped financially and in many other ways, some at the risk of their jobs and lives. To mention their names would be to involve them in trouble, but I cannot help mentioning two retired police officials. One of them (from the royal family of Afghanistan), who used to don a "Gandhi cap" at home, once risked his high position to save me from being imprisoned. I had refused to appear as a witness in a political case and the British District Officer wanted to prosecute me but the Indian Inspector offered to resign if I (a young lad of 18) was prosecuted. He often helped me and the cause. A sub-Inspector always used to send me fresh sugar, vegetables and fruits and often paid his subscription to the independence fund. Yet another Superintendent (Irish) used to write to me fatherly advice. He was a true Christian and would often quote from the Bible. He is still in the service. He offered me a job in the police but when I asked him "Who will manufacture false evidence against my countrymen?", he said, "My boy, I love you and wish yon good luck in your struggle." I would love to see him some day occupy a much higher position in a free India. Love wins barbarians.

The worst class of barbarians among the Indian police are called the punitive police, which are temporarily recruited from among ex-soldiers or the most uncivilised and illiterate communities from famine-stricken districts. They are stationed in different areas from time to time as a measure of punishment awarded to the residents of those areas for their "illegal activities or crimes," of which the greatest in India to-day is "love of freedom." This force has added laurels to British rule all over India. When the ordinary police show any leniency in dealing with the independence movement or refuse to beat or shoot unarmed people, this force is summoned and complies with the brutal

wishes of its masters.

In the year 1921-1922, I was in-charge of a whole sub-division (for carrying on the struggle for freedom) and as its residents were lovers of freedom they gave a remarkable response. The result was that twenty villages comprising several thousand villagers were inflicted with heavy penalties and the punitive police was deputed to punish them. These policemen robbed people of milk, grain, eggs, hen, sheep, cloth and all other necessities and complaints poured into my office every day. I visited the victims, recorded their statements and sent them to the press for publication and the notice of the authorities.

Enemies Turn Worshippers : Once I decided to visit the head-quarters of the punitive police in my sub-division and to my surprise I was given a very warm welcome. The officer in-charge happened to belong to my district, which provides a large share of this "brute force," because of poverty and illiteracy. The officer in charge asked me to tell them about the "Gandhi Movement" and I spoke to the whole force for forty minutes in their simple language. When I told them that an English policeman was paid ten times more than they and that they were servants of the people of India not of England, they were ashamed of their conduct and pledged never to persecute their people anymore.

Four of them resigned their jobs a week later. Thereafter the whole force became extremely friendly to me and often entertained me at lunch and tea, whenever I passed their headquarters, which were situated on the main road. They loved and worshipped me and I was ever proud of their love.

On one occasion they were ordered to disperse a public meeting, which I was addressing, but they dared not use their sticks and begged me to dissolve the meeting since their prayer-time was ahead and they were fasting (Moslem month of Ramzan).

When I told them that I was doing my duty, and that they could do to me what their conscience dictated, they picked me up

bodily and carried me to the police station, where I was offered milk and a bed to rest on. The meeting, however, continued as the people refused to disperse until I was released and we had finished our agenda.

My personal experiences with police-treatment are mostly pleasant. On only three occasions was I beaten, twice as a member of a crowd declared unlawful, and once when I was addressing a public meeting, demanding the removal of the statue of Lord Lawrence at Lahore, since the statue stood with the arrogant inscription "Do you want to be governed by pen or sword ?" The inscription was subsequently changed.

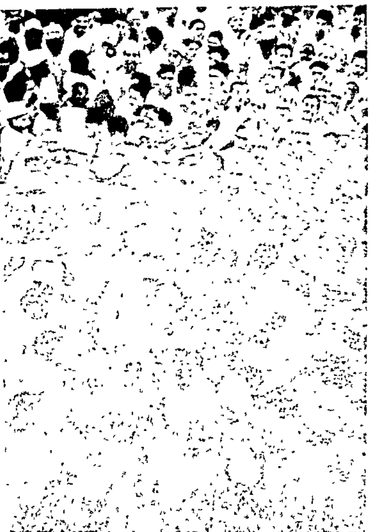
The police indulged in merciless beatings from day to day and arrests were made every day but ultimately the agitation won its object.

I could recall dozens of pleasant memories of kind-hearted police officials both English and Indian, but it is not wise to mention them in their own interest, I want to lay stress on the fact that love and sweetness, the basic principles of Gandhism, can win over many a brute, who are ignorant of what they do. If we could educate all the policemen today, eighty per cent of them would turn out to be as good gentlemen as the top-hatted policemen of London, among whom I made many friends during the session of the World Economic Conference. Policemen in London were my best friends and even those who were deputed to watch me, were very friendly.

As ignorance and poverty are the chief curse of our policemen, who come from poor families, it is no use blaming them. Only a free India can have a well-fed, honest and intelligent police force like the English police force, and the time is not far off when we will have it. True education and proper training can work wonders and a free India could reform her police within a decade.

MARCH OF REVOLUTION





CHAPTER XVII

THE VANISHING EMPIRE

"So far as the future of India is concerned, one thing is obvious to me. The days of the British Empire are numbered . . . . A word from Gandhi can change India into a bath of blood."—A South African Republican Leader

"India is India today ; tomorrow it will be Ireland and the day after it will be Russia."—A friend of the British.

"The British Government is running serious risks not only of permanently losing any legitimate influence it may still possess on our people but of encouraging explosive activities which will be disastrous in its effects on innocent humanity."—Dr. Tagore.

"Some ten years ago a similar act of 'strong government' was tried in Ireland—and failed; it will fail in India also. In Ireland it led on to the brutal and abominable episode of reprisals under the 'Black and Tans.' And after outrage had been pitted against outrage, till the whole world sickened at the spectacle, the bad experiment failed ; and an unwilling England, whose 'indefeasible right to settle the future of Ireland' lay at Westminster, had to knuckle under ; and the Irish Free State was born.

"If the British Government is so backwardly blind as to repeat that same experiment in India, using again the instruments which it used in Ireland, the result will still be the same."—Mr. Lawrence Housman. M.P.

Believe it or not, the "Mighty British Empire" is vanishing.

It is already slipping, though apparently at a slow speed, but another decade will see the end of the Empire. Three Kings in a year is a God-sent warning and no power on earth can save it from the inevitable writing on the wall. My forecast is not merely spiritual nor sentimental, it is based on hard facts. Ever since 1918, British influence has been declining and is today at its lowest ebb, in the unanimous view of political thinkers. This view is also shared by prominent persons like Bernard Shaw and Bertrand Russell.

Take for instance the so-called "non-intervention drama," regarding the Spanish war, that is being staged in London.

"The negotiations of the last five months have laid bare to a frightful degree the impotency—or worse—of British statesmanship. Once again, as in the case of Ethiopia, the aggressor states have defied international law with impunity and with arrogance."

Quite aside from the matter of who is right and who is wrong in the Spanish conflict, the hesitancy, futility and the hypocrisy of the British Government's record makes it plain that the "British Lion" is no better than a jackal. My contention is also supported by Bertrand Russell, whom I quote.

Paralysis of England: Writing under the title *Paralysis of England*, the famous British philosopher, Bertrand Russell recently wrote, in *Coronet*, as follows :

"Great Britain, ever since the end of the War, has been impotent in regard to all the major questions that have arisen in international affairs. This is remarkable in view of the fact that British Sea Power, through the blockade of Germany, was one of the most important factors in the Allied victory. The causes of the British Government's inability to realise its purposes are, I think, two : that new methods of warefare have made the traditional maxims of British state-craft obsolete ; and that in the minds of all parties in England there have been conflicts which have prevented clear thinking and vigorous action. A brief sur-

vey of the most important events (from the standpoint of British foreign policy) since the Treaty of Versailles will help to make these two points clear.

"For four hundred years, England had stood for the balance of power on the Continent, that is to say, for the maintenance of two hostile groups sufficiently equal for British help to be decisive. At Versailles in 1919 we (the British) abandoned this policy. Germany having been defeated, tradition demanded that we should prevent too drastic a defeat ; but, although Lloyd George wished to follow tradition, he was the victim of his own war propaganda, and was compelled by the public opinion he had created, to make a Treaty which gave to France the hegemony of Europe. Consequently British hostility to France, which was demanded by tradition, had to be underground and unavowed. In the war between the Greeks and the Turks in 1920, the British supported the Greeks and the French supported the Turks ; when the Greeks were defeated, and Lloyd George wished to help them to restore their fortunes, his colleagues revolted from him and he fell, leaving victory to the friends of France.

"France used her power ruthlessly against Germany, and not too considerately against Great Britain. The invasion of the Ruhr, and the continuing reluctance to revise the Treaty of Versailles, annoyed the English, and so did the close French alliances with Poland and the Little Entente ; but there was no obvious way of escaping from the Treaty. Moreover, so long as England remained on the gold standard, the French gold reserve kept British finance in bondage. The abandonment of the gold standard in 1931 was the first step in liberation from France.

"The governments of all the Great Powers sympathised with the efforts to effect a White Restoration in Russia, yet here also the British failed ignominiously. The troops they sent to Russia refused to fight for a cause that they considered bad, and the war materials sent to White Russian Generals fell into the hands of the Bolsheviks. Labour opinion at home made it impossible to conduct a really serious war, and in the end it was sullenly

decided to abstain from further molestation of the Russians.

"They, meanwhile, turned their attention to China, where they helped the Nationalist movement to success. The British bitterly opposed this Movement, and in 1926, on three occasions, brutally shot down unarmed students who were demonstrating. The victory of the Nationalists was therefore a defeat of the British.

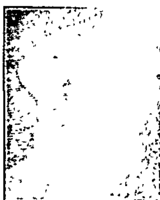
"It is true that it turned out, in 1927, to be also a defeat of the Russians, but that brought no advantage to England, for, ever since then, the Chinese Government, being mainly concerned to combat the communists, has had to give way to Japan, which has closed markets formerly open to British goods, and is likely soon to destroy all that England still retains in the Far East, whether trade, capital, or territory. To this process the British Government offers no resistance because of its fear of communism.

The most resounding example of British impotance has been in regard to Abyssinia. When Japan robbed China of Manchuria, Sir John Simon prevented any action by the League of Nations, and refused to co-operate with the United States in defence of Chinese rights. Nevertheless, when Italy embarked upon an imperialistic scheme which was opposed to British interests, the League of Nations was invoked in the hope of preventing his success. Failure was due to several causes. The most important was French friendship with Italy. The next was the fact that the British Government, while talking in terms of the League and the Covenant, was obviously open to a bargain at the expense of Abyssinia. A third reason was British unwillingness to fight, which itself had a twofold cause : on the one hand, experts were not sure that battleships could survive attacks from the air ; on the other hand, the sentiment in favour of the League of Nations is a pacifist sentiment, which became confused when it was found that economic sanctions were insufficient. It is no wonder that failure resulted from an idealistic crusade led by a government which was only annoyed by not being offered a share of the loot, and a pacifist agitation leading, if pushed to its conclusion, inevitably to a great European war. Some measure of clear

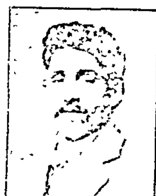
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Kartar Singh



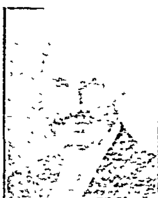
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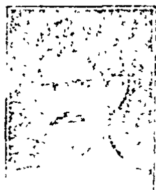
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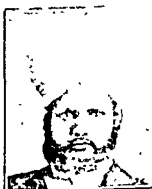
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Bhagat Singh

thinking, and some singleness of purpose, is necessary to the success of any policy.

"British ineffectiveness in recent years, as I remarked before, is due partly to a sense of insecurity produced by changes in the art of war, partly to the co-existence of incompatible desires in every political party.

"To begin with the former : The British Empire was acquired by sea power, its communications are maritime, and a large proportion of the food of Great Britain has to be imported from abroad. Therefore, if sea communications cannot be kept open in war time, the British cannot conduct a successful war. German submarines nearly defeated them in 1917 ; in the next war, submarines and aircraft together will make it very difficult, if not impossible, to import the food required for the conduct of the fighting. Even if this difficulty can be overcome, there remains the formidable menace of attack from the air. Since the failure of the Spanish Armada in 1588, the English have considered themselves invulnerable at home, but now they have suddenly become exceptionally vulnerable. The damage that can be done from so and the air increases with the density of the population, as England is more densely populated than Germany, and much more so than France. Moreover, London and the chief industrial centres are in the East. Either France or Germany could, at the very beginning of a war, kill many of the inhabitants of London and very likely reduce the remainder to a state of blind panic. Munitions centres could be made so unsafe that men would refuse to work in them. The civilian population would probably by rendered useless, and only the armed forces would retain cohesion and morale. The same thing might happen in other countries, but probably to a lesser extent, owing to the smaller density of population."

The doom of the British Empire is sealed.

The Trumpet of God : I am not a prophet, but keeping in view the world situation and particularly the situation in India,

I make this bold prophecy that unless England has the wisdom to retire from India as a friend, (which it never had in the case of Ireland and the United States), a bloody revolution is inevitable in India within a decade ; and that revolution will ring the death knell of British Empire in India. Today some of you may laugh at my statement as some of my own countrymen do, but the time is not far when the inevitable will happen and there will be many who will be astonished as they were astonished at the time of the Russian Revolution in the year 1917.

There is a proverb in the Hindustani language which says "Regard the voice of the people as the trumpet of God" and I sincerely believe in the truth of this proverb. I would implore the reader to read the following statements of renowned people both Indian and foreign and treat them as the trumpet of God.

Empire's Days Numbered : The days of the British Empire are numbered." says Dr. Van Der Merwe, M. P., a leader of the Free State Republican Nationalists of South Africa, who was one of the members of the Union Delegetion which toured India recently, I quote his interview from the *Hindustan Times.* Interviewed by Reuter's, on his return home the Dr. Merwe said :— "What I saw in India made me a greater enemy than ever of British imperialism. I refer to that policy that exploits even the Englishman's patriotism for political purposes.

"It has drained India for a century and a half in order to create markets for British manufacturers.

"It has bled white an impoverished and famished population in order to maintain in luxurious fashion an army of officials and soldiers, to be found anywhere in the country.

"It has aped the great Moguls of the past, building a New Delhi and spending millions on it, while 70 per cent of the population are famished and more than 300,000,000 are absolutely illiterate.

"Our natives in South Africa are undoubtedly much better off

than 90 per cent of the population in India. In the great cities of Bombay and Calcutta thousands sleep on the streets at night because they have no accommodation. I sometimes found it difficult to walk between the sleepers without treading on one here and there.

"In the country, where 90 per cent of the population is domiciled, shocking poverty prevails. The people live mainly in mud huts in which the most elementary health rules are unknown. The average income per person is estimated by the Indian Congress at less than 2d. per day. So far as the future of India is concerned one thing is obvious to me. The days of the British Empire are numbered."

Irresistible Spirit : An irresistible spirit of nationalism has arisen in India. The allegation that Gandhi has lost his influence is untrue. His personality still controls the millions of India. A word from him can change India into a bath of blood.

"Gandhi is getting old, but his inspiration has created an army of able leaders whom nothing will obstruct. They demand complete independence away from the British Empire and the Crown. Among them are men such as Jawaharlal Nehru, who studied at Harrow and Cambridge. He has already gone to prison seven times for his convictions and has spent almost 10 years in prison altogether. He is a free man today and wherever he goes tens of thousands hang on his word.

"India is still an unhappy country and over its vast population hang the menacing clouds of poverty, misery and ignorance. There are sighs, however, of a new spring following the winter sleep of the so-called unchangeable East. The world will have to keep count of this."

Englishman Predicts Revolution : Within a week of my arrival in India, twenty years ago, a Subaltern of a British Line regiment created some sensation by forcibly ejecting a native Member of Council from a first-class railway compartment.

The Subaltern was 'broke.' Within a week of my departure many years afterwards, a friend of mine, a Colonel of Gurkhas, was refused admittance at Multan to a first-class railway compartment occupied by a native judge of the Punjab High Court. The judge was not 'broke.' The Colonel said nothing but is thinking still. So in a remarkably short space of time, in my own experience, I have seen the wheel go round full circle, and the beginning and end of its revolution has been an exhibition of bad manners on the part of one of a ruling caste. Twenty years ago the Sahib was somebody—until, like the Subaltern, he tried to prove it. To-day the Sahib is nothing. India is respectable fraction of the British Empire, and its loss would see the latter well on its way downhill, degenerating into a third-class power like Denmark. We would be happy then, of course, but who wants to be happy when assiduous devotion to yap can get an ex-railway driver £ 5,000 a year for seeking some scheme by which his fellow creatures can earn a possible £ 2 a week for an uncertain time ?"—*Revolution in India.*

Englishman Sees the Inevitable : "If a large proportion of the population of India chose to adopt this course there can be no doubt that a staggering blow would be administered to constituted authority. Governments might issue proclamations, police might arrest, troops might make martial demonstrations, but there are limits to such things. If the passive resisters stuck it out they would inevitably win."

"It is fairly clear that a united India could sweep away every vestige of British rule."—*Revolution in India.*

India To-day, Ireland Tomorrow : The British Delegation report quotes a warning from "a leading man of Karachi, who is respected by Congress and has access to officials." He said sadly :

"I have been to the British officials many times. I have protested against the whipping of children. I have reported many

INDIA MOURNS THEM

A Great Physician



The Late Dr. M. A. Ansari (who was founder of the Nationalist Moslem Party



The Late Pandit Moti Lal Nehru

TWO LIFE LONG FIGHTERS



Pandit M. M. Malaviya who has the unique honor of thrice being President of Indian Congress



Sardar Patel,

cases of gross official misconduct. I protested against the jailing of the two women of 70 and 80, the flogging of seven boys, and the running down of people by a Englishman's car in the streets of Karachi at the time of the Governor's visit .... India is India today ; tomorrow it will be Ireland, and the day after it will be Russia."

And he concluded that unless the British act quickly and settle this problem "in concurrence with our aspirations the opportunity will pass forever."

The Day of Reckoning : Writing on the Indian budget, in the *India Bulletin*, the organ of the Friends of India, the President, Mr. Laurance Housman, says :—

"What is most appalling is that while millions are starving and dying of exhaustion, the military programme as usual swallowed more than half the revenue of the Indian Government and a deaf ear has been turned to the public demand of progressive reduction of this item of expenditure. The military budget acts as a sharp reminder to the people from year to year that the vital national interests of India are being sacrificed at the altar of British Imperialism.

"The poverty of the masses evidenced by their death rate, the low expectation of life, infant mortality, their lack of resisting power, and their indebtedness is appalling. The unemployment among the masses, as among the educated, is the greatest in the world. The Government makes no effort to get at the figures of this unemployment. If speedy and effective steps are not taken to decrease the unemployment and increase the producing capacity of the people and deminish wasteful expenditure on the military and civil service, *we may be in for trouble any day. Repression may postpone the day of reckoning but when it comes it may come with redoubled fury.*"

End British Rule : "We must cease to dread violence, if we will have the country to be free. Can we not see that we are

tightly pressed in the coil of violence? The peace we seem to prize is a mere makeshift, and it is bought with the blood of the starving millions. If the critics could only realise the torture of their slow and lingering death brought about by forced starvation, they would risk anarchy and worse in order to end that agony. The agony will not end till the existing rules of spoliation have ended. I would have waited if I could have been convinced that the condition of the masses has undergone progressive amelioration under British rule. Alas, he who runs may see that it has progressively deteriorated under that rule. It is a sin, with that knowledge, to sit supine, and for fear of imaginary anarchy or worse, to stop action that may prevent anarchy, and is bound, if successful to end the heartless spoliation of a people who have deserved a better fate."

"As soon as we have discarded the awe of British rule and cease to consider ourselves cheap as dirt, we shall be free." —*M. K. Gandhi.*

A British Prophecy: *the Morning Post*, London, says, "It (the Congress) has publicly burnt the British flag; it has organised the boycott of British goods, and it has proclaimed its intention to repudiate British loans. Therefore, we take it to be reasonably certain that, when the power comes into the hands of these people, the police will be destroyed, the British in India will be massacred, and their goods will be confiscated."

"*Death Knell of Empire*": The late Sir John Thompson gave the following warning to his countrymen:

"If Empire means domination, then every colony which has become a Dominion has passed out of the Empire. In the long run, Empire, in the sense of the association between Great Britain and India or between Great Britain and the Dominions, must rest on something other than force or constraint. If we recognise this, as we have done elsewhere, we are insuring against separation, and that should be the ultimate aim of every Conservative in the country. If, in the case of India, we do not re-

cognise it, we are, I verily believe, increasing the chances that our grandsons will rise up and curse us for its loss."

We Are Finished in India" : Sir Laurie Hammond (ex-Governor of Assam) speaking at Marylebone declared that the diehards cheerfully voted the Act introducing democracy in India in 1919, the effect whereof has been to create appetite. "Indians of all kinds have learned that they can make demands and can decline to pay taxes. If the majority of people decide that they do not want us, we are finished in India."

"*End of British Empire*" : The White Paper proposals are attacked in *an article by Sir Henry Page-Croft under the title* "Shall Britain Quit India" featured in the *Daily Mail.* Sir *Henry asserts that the reforms would prove a costly burden on* the poor and not provide greater contentment among the masses than the proved and pure *administration* by *Britain. It would* also bring disaster to British trade, while the policy involves the end of the British Asiatic Empire.

Background of Revolution : "Revolution is after all not a very dreadful thing. It is a phenomenon which nature loves and without which there can be no progress either in nature or in human affairs. It has always been a terror to holders of power and privilege, though it has always defied their machinations and put in its appearance in due time."

"The Government can imprison the people and can hang them. *But if this mentality prevails* in the country that nothing is to be lost either by imprisonment or death and that either is better *than the existing conditions,* they may well imagine the consequences."—Lajpat Rai.

His Spirit Will Bless : "Our creed still stands and we are pledged to struggle by *peaceful* non-*violence, but if the Government* continues to behave like this, I would not wonder if the young men were to go out of our hands *to do whatever they*

like with the object of gaining the freedom of their country. I do not know if I shall be alive to see that day but whether I am alive or dead ; if that day is forced upon you by Government my spirit from behind will bless you for that struggle."—Lajpat Rai. (N. B. Soon after he made the above speech Lala Lajpat Rai died as a result of a beating by a British police officer at Lahore on the arrival of the Simon Commission).

The Gun Recoils : "You want a strong Government in India. But what is a strong Government ? Is a strong Government one supported solely by route marches and ordinances—power swiftly diminishing, short credits obtained at exhorbitant rates of interest, —guns ? Prime Minister, there is one thing that we all know about a gun, and that is that it recoils. We want a strong Government, but a Government can only be strong if it rests upon the assent of the people. It is a pitiful thing, Prime Minister, but it is true ; in India, youth is against us. Conflicts come and we are driven into conflict with those who are striving for the uplifting of India, who have been fighting against the drink evil, who have been fighting against social evils, who have been fighting against poverty. We want these people to be on our side in rebuilding a greater and better India. We want the cooperation of good citizens. A strong Government is a Government backed by patriots. How are we to get that ?"–(Mr. Wedgwood Benn at R.T.C.)

Edmund Burke's Warning : "The civil power, like every other that calls in the aid of an ally stronger than itself, perishes by the assistance it receives."

Macaulay's Warning :—A Proud People—"A people whose education and habits are such that, in every quarter of the world, they rise above the mass of those with whom they mix, as surely as oil rises to the top of water, a people of such temper and self-government that the wildest popular excesses recorded

A Great Spiritualist



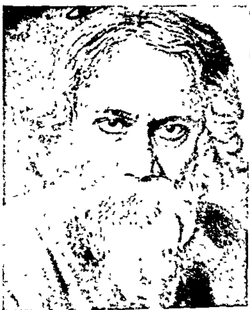
Sri Aurbindo Ghosh

Prince Among Patriots



The Late Mr. C. R. Das

A Great Poet



Rabindranath Tagore



Subhas Chandra Bose with Author

"Frontier Gandhi"



Khan Abdul Gaffar Kl
Leader of "Red Shirts" w
not allowed to enter his pr

A Great Theologist



Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

A Great Scholai



The Late M. Mohd Ali, ex-President of National Congress

India Remembers Him



Sir HENRY COTTON
President, 20th Congress, Bombay, 1904



Chandrashekhar [illegible]



Justice Abbas Tyubji



Hakim Ajmal Khan



Dr. Shayama Prasad Mookerjee

in their history partake of the gravity of judicial proceedings, and of the solemnity of religious rites, a people whose national pride and mutual attachment have passed into a proverb, a people whose high and fierce spirit, so forcibly described in the haughty motto which encircles their thistle, preserved their independence, during a struggle of centuries, from the encroachments of wealthier and more powerful neighbours, such a people cannot be long oppressed. Any government, however constituted, must respect their wishes and tremble at their discontents."

Conciliate in Time: "We know of no great revolution which might not have been prevented by compromise early and graciously made. Firmness is a great virtue in public affairs; but it has its proper sphere. Conspiracies and insurrections in which small minorities are engaged, the outbreakings of popular violence unconnected with any extensive project or any durable principle, are best repressed by vigour and decision. To shrink from them is to make them formidable.

"But no wise ruler will confound the pervading taint with the slight local irritation. No wise ruler will treat the deeply seated discontents of a great party, as he treats the fury of a mob which destroys mills and power-looms. The neglect of this distinction has been fatal even to governments strong in the power of the sword. But in all movements of the human mind which tend to great revolutions, there is at crisis at which moderate concession may amend, conciliate, and preserve. *Happy will it be for England if, at the crisis, her interests be confided to men for whom history has not recorded the long series of human crimes and follies in vain!*"—Macaulay.

The Coming War, A Parable of Modern Politics: What is India going to tell Great Britain in the coming war is as beautifully described by Goldsmith, as if it were written today:

"The Giant, for the first time, was foremost now; but the Dwarf was not far behind. The battle was stout and long.

Wherever the Giant came, all fell before him; but the Dwarf had liked to have been killed more than once. At last the victory declared for the two adventures; but the Dwarf lost his leg. The Dwarf had now lost an arm, a leg, and an eye, while the Giant was without a single wound; upon which he cried out to his little companion, 'My little friend, this is a glorious sport! Let us get one victory more, and then we shall have honour for ever.'—'No,' cries the Dwarf, who was by this time grown wiser, 'no' I declare off; I'll fight no more; for I find in every battle that you get all the honour and rewards, but all the blows fall upon me.' "—Goldsmith.

American Author Sees Revolution: Mr. Charles Edward Russell, noted American author, predicts the coming revolution. In his famous book *Bare Hands And Stone Walls* he relates the following story:

" 'I hate the English,' said Abdul Khan, when he became communicative. 'Every Indian hates the English. He may not show it; it is there in his heart all the time. [All castes (meaning religions) just do the same—Mohammedan, Hindu, Jain, all the same. My father, had fought in the war in 1857. When I was a little boy he used to take me on his knee often and tell me about that war—all about it. He told me what the English did. He told me, 'This is what the English have done. Never forget it. Keep it in your mind as long as you live and hate the English. Teach your sons to hate them. Some day there will be a chance to drive them out of India. In your time, may be in your sons' time. Whenever it comes, be ready for it.'

"He said his father had been at the defence of Delhi where he had captained a gun, and he showed us from the city wall the spot where the gun had been placed.

"I said that all the histories of those days that I had been able to find referred to the disturbances as a mutiny—the Sepoy Mutiny was its fixed name in history. He said it was no mutiny; it was revolution, the great majority of the people sym-

pathised with it, and it had for its object the ending of British rule in India. Also, *that it would have succeeded* but for the native princes. They helped the British.

" 'Mutiny !' he said. 'The Rani of Jhansi—would she have *fought in a mutiny?*' "

The same distinguished author wrote in an article as follows :

"Every careful observer who has studied in India the problem of India knows perfectly well that nothing keeps the Indian people from driving their foreign rulers out of the land and back to their far-off homes, but the rigorous care with which arms are kept out of their hands. And notwithstanding the great influence for peace of Mahatma Gandhi, there are many ominous signs of an uprising at no distant day compared with which the revolution of 1857 was but an incident; unless, of course, the British are willing to grant to the people whom they have so long exploited, the self-government which is their right.

"I travelled up from Ahmedabad to Jaipur with an open-minded Englishman, whose years in India had not obsessed him with race prejudice and fatuous confidence. As we went through villages and saw everywhere the scowling and sinister faces turned upon us, the half-starved people, the wretched huts, the children that do not play and the women who do not smile, and heard everywhere the same mutterings and curses. I said to my companion :

'When is this volcano going to burst forth ?'

He gripped me by the arm and looked at me soberly in the eye, and said : 'Any moment'.

"Can there be widespread discontent under a good benevolent and just Government ? Will vast masses of people risk their lives to cast from them their own good ? Do revolutions ever go backward ? And above everything I ask again : Can there be anywhere on the earth a tolerable autocracy, an endurable domination by force of one nation over another ?"

TO ENGLAND

Hast thou suckled at fair freedom's breast,
Exported slavery to the conquered east ?
Pulled down the tyrants India served with dread,
And raised thyself a greater in their stead ?
Gone thither armed and hungry ; returned full,
Fed from the richest veins of the Moghul,
A despot big with power obtained by wealth,
And that obtained by rapine and by stealth ?
With Asiatic vices stored thy mind,
But left their virtues and thine own behind ?
And having sold thy soul, brought home the fee,
To tempt the poor to sell himself to thee ?

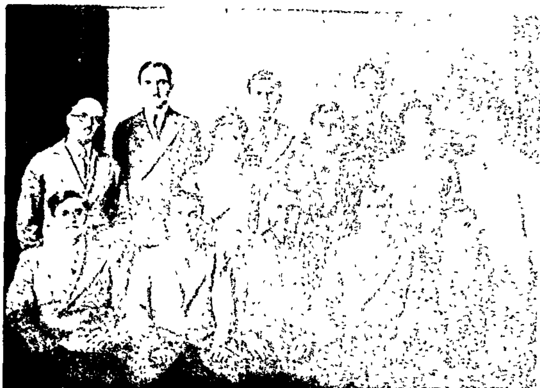
—*William Cowper.*

* * * *

They err who count it glorious to subdue
By conquest far and wide, to overrun
Large countries, and in field great battles win,
Great cities by assault ; what do these worthies
But rob and spoil, burn, slaughter or remote
Made captive, yet conquerous, who leave behind
Nothing but ruin wheresoe'r they rove
And all the flourishing works of peace destroy.

—*Milton in "Paradise Regained."*

INDIAN PATRIOTS IN JAPAN



A group of Indian Nationalists in Japan. Raja Mahendra Pratap, famous Indian exile is seen in the centre, Mr. A.M. Sahay, President, I.N. Committee is sitting to his left.



Mr. Rash Behari Bose, Tokyo



A group of the members of the United India League of America. Mr. Syud Hussain, their leader is sitting third from the right.

CHAPTER XVIII

VIR BHAGAT SINGH

Bharat is our *Punya Bhoomi.* But the state of Punjab has been, for centuries, the land of martyrs. For many centuries Afghanistan was a part of India 'and I have with me a long list of Brahmin rulers of Afghanistan. The Afghans were sons of Mother India. The names of Gandhari and many heroes of Afghanistan are parts of Hindu legend. Islam divided, usurped and weakened India and our brothers of yesterday became our enemies of today. For more than a thousand years the greedy Muslim invaders, jealous of our prosperity, have been invading India since the 11th century.

Bhagat Singh was in the Tradition of Punjab : A full history of Punjab's heroism and sacrifices for the cause of India's freedom is yet to be written. But every Indian is familiar with the sacrifice of the brave Punjabi boy Haquekat, the glorious sacrifices of the Sikh Gurus who gave their lives for the protection of Hindu Dharma. Who will not bow to the sacred memory of Guru Arjun Dev, Guru Tegh Bahadur, Guru Govind Singh and his four sons? Bhagat Singh was the product of the great tradition that Punjab had established by centuries of sacrifice. He rekindled the spirit of sacrifice and love of liberty that had been damaged by the activities of loyalist Sikhs of the Chief Khalsa Diwan and other today organisations of the Sikhs under British patronage.

His illustrious uncle Sardar Ajit Singh, and Punjab Kesari Lala Lajpat Rai, had made a great impression on Bhagat Singh, the school boy. His father Sardar Kishan Singh was a prominent member of Arya Samaj and it cannot be denied that

the Arya Samaj played a prominent role in the swadeshi movement and the political awakening since the days of Martial Law in 1919 and the Gandhi *yuga* of Independence.

I had known Bhagat Singh as a handsome, happy, patriotic and unusually spirited young man. Sardar Kishan Singh and myself were the co-members of the Punjab Swaraj Ashram established in 1920 at Amritsar. Bhagat Singh often used to visit his father and I remember with pride and love how he used to address me as "Chachaji", though I was only a few years senior to him in age. He used to drive a horse carriage (*Tum Tum*) from Lahore to his village every week-end and I used to accompany him now and then to his village, Khatkar Kalan. When he joined National College, Lahore, in 1922, I used to live in the college boarding house. I was at that time working as Head of the Punjab State Congress office, all the leaders having been arrested in 1921. Bhai Parmanand, who had returned from Andamans after several years of imprisonment, played a very important role in shaping Bhagat Singh's life. A very close associate of Bhagat Singh in the Hindusthan Republican Army, Bhagwati Charan, who died as a result of bomb expolsion, was my landlord and dear friend. His wife, Durgabhabi, was a very popular hostess. In those days I used to work on the *Bandemataram*. I joined the *Hindustan Times* in Delhi in 1924 and founded the Naujawan Bharat Sabha in 1926. The Sabha had been founded in Lahore by the great patriot, Kidarnath Sehgal. Bhagat Singh and several other youngmen were its member.

How Lala Lajpatrai Agreeed to Come out Against Simon Commission: The Punjab Naujawan Bharat Sabha was very active and we in Delhi received inspiration from its activities. When Simon Commission visited Delhi the Congress was almost a dead organisation in that city. On behalf of the Naujawan

Bharat Sabha I announced by beat of drum that Delhi citizens should muster strong at New Delhi station to record their protest. No less than 30,000 people gathered at the station and mobbed the Indian members of the Simon party. Several of its members were injured.

I was Joint Secretary of the All India Anti-Simon Boycott Commission. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was its Chairman. I accompanied *Panditji* on his tour of Punjab and Frontier. We met with great response in every town but in Lahore the Congress had gone lifeless because the great Lala Lajpatrai had formed his own party, the Independent Congress Party, in 1926 and had defeated all Congress candidates to the Central Assembly. Lalaji had won from two constituencies by an overwhelming majority. Because of his differences with Pandit Motilal Nehru he had left the Congress Party in the Central Assembly, though he was still a member of the All India Congress Committee.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya who was Chairman of our paper—*The Hindustan Times*—asked me if I had some influence with Lalaji and could persuade him to lead the demonstration *against the Simon Commission in Lahore.* There was hardly any political life in Lahore because of utter rout of Congress in the Assembly elections. Doctor Satyapal and his co-workers had very little influence over the masses. I went to Lalaji and pressed his feet for a few minutes as I used to do in 1920-21 when I had joined the *non-cooperation Ashram (Na* Mil-Wartan Ashram). When I requested Lalaji that my influence with him was on trial and Malaviyaji had sent me *to take him* to the demonstration, Lalaji scolded me for ten minutes that I was wedded to Congress and not to his ideology, as I was from 1920 to 1924 when I worked on the *Bandemataram.*

I pleaded with Lalaji that he was not the leader of the Congress but leader of Punjab and the Country, and the Country was far greater than the Congress. The Simon Com-

mission was an insult to India's fitness to manage her own affairs. Therefore it was the duty of all who loved India to accept the challenge without differences of party. Lalaji agreed with me and drove in Pandit Malaviya's car to lead the demonstration outside Lahore Railway Station. He was in high spirits and his presence at the head of the demonstration cheered everybody. How Saunders, Superintendent of Police and others assaulted Lala Lajpatrai and other leaders, is common knowledge. This set the city on fire and the same evening a very largely attended public meeting was held in the municipal gardens where Lala Lajpatrai made the historic declaration: "*Every Lathi Blow On Me Is A Nail In The Coffin Of The British Empire*",

It was April 8, 1929: Bhagat Singh and his associates were deeply touched by the insult inflicted on the Lion of Punjab. How they murdered Saunders and how they escaped through the DAV College in disguise, and remained at large for several months, is a well-known story. During those days Bhagat Singh had shaved his hair and replaced his turban by a felt hat. He took up a job as sub-editor in the daily *Arjun*, Delhi, whose chief editor was Pandit Indra Vidya Vachaspati. His presence in Delhi was a well kept secret since he was wanted in the Saunders murder case. Bhagat Singh and myself often used to have a two-anna lunch at a Sikh restaurant.

On April 8, 1929, Bhagat Singh and B. K. Dutt staged the historic demonstration in the Central Assembly with bombs and pistols. I had taken twenty-six visitors' tickets for them and their friends. Since a year earlier I had deliberately dropped my attache case on the head of Basil Blackett, Finance Minister, in the Assembly from my Press seat above, my press pass had been confiscated. I therefore used to report from the Visitors' Gallery. Before the Assembly started Bhagat Singh came in and sat next to me and B. K. Dutt to his left.

Sardar Sobha Singh, one of the three contractors who built New Delhi, was then *President* of Dehi Municipal Committee and an honorary magistrate. He sat to my right. Bhagat Singh aimed his pistol at Sir Johon Simon who was sitting in the President's Gallery. Maulana Mohammed Ali, ex-President of Indian National Congress, was sitting next to him. I was afraid that if, by accident, Maulana was hit, it would result in serious Hindu-Muslim trouble. Luckily the pistol got jammed. But B. K. Dutt made full use of the two crude bombs that he carried in his pocket. There was a noisy, explosion, a brick fell from the dome and the hall was filled with smoke, but otherwise there were no serious consequences. I put the empty cartidges in my attache case. Sardar Sobha Singh said that I should hand them over to him since he was a magistrate and will have to appear as a witness. I gave him the cartridges.

Inqilab Zindabad In The Central Assembly: The entire police force, every member of the Assembly and hundreds of visitors, ran in panic. Several of them left their shoes behind. The police were so *panic-stricken* that they came back only after about an hour in force to arrest Bhagat Singh and Dutt. If Bhagat Singh and Dutt had wanted to escape they could have easily done so in the confusion, especially when nobody knew them. But their purpose was to have a trial and to preach their message of revolution through the proceedings of a court.

Asaf Ali Demanded Rs. 500/- Cash Down: The slogan '*Inqilab Zindabad*' was raised by them for the first time in the Central Assembly and by the time of Lahore Congress it became a household word. The police took nearly two months to prepare the case. They used all kind of cheap tactics—including prostitutes—to persuade Bhagat Singh and B. K. Dutt to give them inside news but they failed. I was followed by a C. I. D. squad in car until the

time I went to bed at about 9 P. M. Every mid-night our office car used to come to take me to the New Delhi Police Station Officer's house. The C. I. D. thought I had gone to sleep for good at 9 P. M. and therefore they also went to sleep. The patriotic police officer Sardar Chet Singh gave me the full story of the days' happenings and every morning *The Hindustan Times* had an exclusive front-page story. The Senior Superintendent of Police got so enraged that he warned my editor that if he did not send me away from Delhi I would be arrested. The editor advised me to go to Simla to start our Simla letter and wait there until the trial of Bhagat Singh was started.

Bhagat Singh told me while we were waiting for the police in the Central Assembly Visitors' Gallery to arrange for his defence. Since I was secretary of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha—of which Bhagat Singh was a member—it was my duty to arrange for the defence. He asked me to inform his father through a phone call to the daily *Milap* of Lahore to leave for Delhi the same night and apply for an interview. After saying goodbye to Bhagat Singh and B. K. Dutt in the police van I went straight to Mr. Asaf Ali, Congress leader, and asked him to take up the case from next morning and apply for an interview with the two national heroes. Asaf Ali, to my great surprise, replied : "Not until you give me Rs. 500 in advance." I told him my salary was only Rs. 250 p. m. and I could only take that much advance. He insisted on receiving Rs. 500 then and there. I rang up my friend Lala Dewan Chand contractor—after whom we have the Dewan Chand Information Centre, New Delhi—and told him that I needed Rs. 250 immediately, to pay 500 rupees advance to Asaf Ali to take up Bhagat Singh's case. Lala Dewan Chand, who was an honorary magistrate and outwardly loyal to the British, sent Rs. 500 through his Sikh cashier. He had earlier told me one day to depend upon him for any needs of our revolutionary friends. One day he paid 1000 rupees

for an absconder's long journey around India in 1st class.

Two days later when I was reporting a municipal committee meeting, Sardar Sobha Singh after adjourning the meeting came to me and put three brand new 100 rupee notes into my pocket saying that that was his first] contribution to Bhagat Singh's defence fund. A month later he invited me to lunch and paid another Rs. 300. The late Lala Madan Mohan Lal similarly made several contributions to help the revolutionary youngmen.

The Patriotic Loyalists : Once Durga Bhabhi (Mrs. Bhagwati Charan) wrote to me that she needed 500 *ladoos* (code word for rupees) and I personally went to Lahore, to deliver the amount and returned to Delhi within a few hours since I had taken no leave from the office.

The reader will realise that while many so-called loyalists and honorary magistrates were true patriots many of those who took shelter under the white cap were pirates.

Ill-Informed Criticism of Gandhiji : Millions of young people wondered and blamed Mahatma Gandhi for his inability to save Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukhdev from the gallows, while negotiating the Gandhi-Irwin Pact before the Karachi Congress and proceeding to Round Table Conference at London. I was one of those very angry youngmen who blamed Mahatma Gandhi without knowing the whole story which Gandhiji did not reveal—just to save a Punjab leader whose irresponsibility had defeated Mahatma Gandhi's efforts to save the young heroes.

When the news of the execution came on the evening of 23rd March, 1931, I drove to Mahatmaji who was staying at Dr. Ansari's house. Gandhiji was in tears but he could say nothing and I foolishly accused him of inactivity. The same evening Gandhiji left for Karachi to attend the Indian National Congress session. As usual I accompanied Gandhiji in his

3rd class compartment and sat next to him while his secretaries sat on opposite benches, attending to their work. The news of execution had not yet reached the station's *en route*. At every station thousands of people welcomed Gandhiji shouting "*Mahatma Gandhi ki jai.*" There was jubilation in the air, that a Pact was soon to be signed between him and Lord Irwin and thousands of political prisoners would return home. I was so mad with Gandhiji that I told the people not to shout '*Mahatma Gandhi ki jai*', since he had sacrificed Bhagat Singh and his comrades. Gandhiji simply smiled and said to me "Now that you have had your say, come, lend me your shoulder, and let me address the people outside." Such was Gandhiji's generosity and his fatherly love. When I recall the incident I am in tears and feel ashamed of myself.

"I Know Four Chamanlals" Said Gandhi : All along the route we received basketfulls of fruits, pot-fulls of rich goat's milk and sweets. Gandhiji told me to distribute everything to other leaders and delegates travelling by the same train. At Karachi Railway station some angry youngmen garlanded Gandhiji with the half-burnt ashes of the three heroes. Gandhiji did not utter a word but Malaviyaji who was travelling by the same train took me to task and said : "Is this the culture of your Naujawan friends ?" I apologised to Mahatmaji as a member of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha Central Executive.

At the crowded press conference in Karachi I asked Gandhiji why he had failed to save the lives of three national heroes. Since Gandhiji was not prepared to give out the true story because it involved a Punjab leader he jocularly asked me "I know four Chamanlals—one who met me in 1918 in his home town of Sargodha and became attached to me, one who joined the Congress in 1920, giving up his college, and worked for the independence crusade, one who is secretary of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha and one who is

the representative of *The Hindustan Times*; which Chamanlal is asking this question." Everybody laughed and Gandhiji successfully evaded the question.

On return from Karachi where it was decided to send Gandhiji to the Round Table Conference, a huge public meeting was held in the Municipal Park Delhi, to celebrate the pact. I, as secretary of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, could not swallow the Congress jubilations over the release of prisoners, though my would-be wife was one of the prisoners coming home, published a red handbill and distributed a hundred thousand copies condemning the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. The handbill bore the title *"Where is peace to-day ?"* And I asked the question that those who were rejoicing and playing bands on the return of prisoners, should go and ask the mothers of *Bhagat Singh, Rajguru* and Sukhdev as to how they felt about that pact. I reminded Mahatmaji in that handbill the last words of the late Pandit Motilal Nehru from his death bed: "Mahatmaji, forget not the Garhwalis". (The reference was to the Garhwali soldiers who had refused to fire on khudai khidmatgars in Peshawar in 1930 and had been court-marshalled and given heavy sentences). "Haven't you forgotten the Garhwalis today and they are still undergoing 15 years imprisonment." I signed the handbill as "Young India".

When All ICS Men In Punjab Resigned: The stage was at least 20 feet high and only three persons were allowed on the stage, namely, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, president of the meeting, Gandhiji, the only speaker, myself as the only reporter to give copy of the speech to all other pressmen. Before the meeting began my sister Satyawati, who was the Vice-President of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, handed over a copy of the hand-bill to Gandhiji. Gandhiji began his speech by saying:

आज तक तो मैं 'यंग इंडिया' का सम्पादक हूं, यह अपने आपको कौन 'यंग इंडिया'

लिखता है।

(Till today I am the editor of Young India; who is this man who writes himself as *Young India*?) Mrs. Sarojini Naidu pulled my right ear and said: "It is this Shaitan's work." Gandhiji smiled and said : "So this is our Chamanlal's job. Please accompany me to Dr. Ansari's house after the meeting and I'll explain to you every-thing to your fullest satisfaction."

After the meeting Gandhiji took me with himself and, after having his evening meal, he told me that I had blamed him for all those weeks for the executions, but the truth was that he had done his best, that he had taken a definite word from the Viceroy that the youngmen would not be executed, but an over-enthusiastic Punjabi leader—Dr. Satyapal—had spoiled the whole game by announcing in public that the Viceroy had given this pledge to him (Gandhiji). This infuriated every ICS Englishman in Punjab and they all resigned *en bloc* including the Governor of Punjab. When the resignations were cabled to the Secretary of State for India, he changed his mind and Lord Irwin could not do anything. The executions took place before time to avoid hostile demonstrations. Gandhiji asked me: "Now do you think I failed in doing my duty?" I apologised to Bapu and I can never forgive myself for having done grave injustice to him all along the way—from Delhi to Karachi. It was only Mahatma Gandhi who had so much compassion, tolerance and forgiveness. I wish our politicians of today, who swear in the name of Mahatma Gandhi everyday, could learn to be generous, forgiving and tolerant to others. My salute to Mahatma Gandhi ! My salute to Bhagat Singh !

CHAPTER XIX

MEETING HARDYAL AND RASH BEHARI BOSE
MY TWO HEROES

"I shall come to India at the helm of an Indian army of freedom in ten years, but I do not want to go in disguise as a Buddhist monk on pilgrimage. The foundation has been laid today in Bangkok. The Japanese government have established their embassy in Thailand. The plans are all ready and, God willing, I will achieve my ambition to kiss the soil of my motherland after thirty years."

This was the message, the great revolutionary, Rash Behari Bose gave me in September, 1933 when I bade him goodbye after my visit to Japan.

Lala Hardayal the Leader: In my schooldays I was always thrilled to hear the stories of Lala Hardayal, Rash Behari Bose, Bhai Parmanand, Kartar Singh and others. Our science teacher in Government High School at Sargodha always used to tell me, "You will be hanged like Rash Behari Bose."

Little did he know that Rash Behari Bose, who threw a bomb on Lord Hardinge in Chandni Chowk, was very much alive and kicking in Japan and was planning to form the Indian National Army of Liberation to march on India. I did not know much about it except scrappy writings in political pamphlets and booklets, privately circulated. In the year 1928, when I hit Sir Bassil Blackett, the then Finance Minister from my press gallery seat, a revolutionary friend told me something more about the legend of *Rash Behari.* Five years later I had the privilege of meeting Rash Behari's guru Lala Hardayal (in London) and Rash Behari Bose in Japan.

I Meet Lala Hardayal: Lala Hardayal the topmost revolutionary of that era, entrusted the task of revolution to Rash Behari Bose when he left for America to organise the Gadar Party in California. I never knew that I would be able to meet Lala Hardayal, many of his comrades in America and my hero Rash Behari Bose in Japan. In 1933 the Hindustan Times sent me to England to report the World Economic Conference which was opened by King George V and also the activities of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on India's self-govt., which had invited many witnesses like Dr. Ambedkar and Bhai Parmanand, once a great revolutionary leader. The Daily Herald of London published my interview on the Indian independence struggle which drew the attention of Lala Hardayal who was living in retirement in a suburb of London. I had heard about it, but nobody could give me his address. Until the last day of my stay in London (5th July, 1933) I found no way to have his darshan. God came to my help and the same day in the Thomas Cook office where I had gone to take my mail, I saw an unusual sagelike figure, the face glowing with lustre. Mr. A. Isar, Deputy Commissioner of Delhi (who had sent me to prison three times and who was recovering from a prolonged illness in London) was sitting next to me in the lounge. When this noble personality entered the lounge, I had an intuition and I told Mr. Isar, "I feel that he is the great Lala Hardayal. Let me pay him my respects."

Mr. Isar said, "In England you cannot meet a person unless you are properly introduced."

I told him, "You keep your English etiquette with you. I must see Lala Hardayal."

Lala Hardayal was just then entering the elevator to go upstairs to the mail department. I rushed and touched his feet. He immediately recognised me because he had seen my picture in many newspapers. He embraced me very affectionately and took me upstairs. We spent two hours together. He gave me an interview for the Hindustan Times and a message for the

"Krishna Number" of the Daily Tej of Delhi. I told him of my life long desire to see him, Rash Behari Bose and others who had lighted the torch of freedom. He gave me two introductions, one for Rash Behari Bose (though in Japan), and the other for Godha Ram Chanon who was once the editor of "The Gadar." He asked me details of the assembly incident in 1928 and my being invited to lunch by my victim Sir Basil Blackett. He enjoyed the joke when I told him that Lady Blackett, who had invited me to her house the day after I had hit her husband and had asked me, "What would I have done if my husband had died ?"

I had related this story to the late Vitthalbhai Patel, President of the Legislative Assembly and he had remarked, "Why didn't you tell her : Madam I will marry you !"

Since I was to catch my ship for America the same evening, I could only spend two hours with this great patriot who was my hero since my schooldays. In the United States I met dozens of Lala Hardayal's disciples and admirers in California.

At the Feet of Rash Behari Bose: The leading English daily of Tokyo, "Tokyo Nichi Nichi", had invited me to Japan and Manchuria in Korea as its guest for six weeks. When I reached Tokyo on the 13th of September, I was received by the great revolutionary patriot Raja Mahendra Pratap at Yokohama and I stayed with him at Cho Hotel. Next morning I rang up Rash Behari Bose and told him of the introduction from Lala Hardayal to see him. He had already read my articles in the Nichi Nichi daily. He drove in his car to take me to his house. He was running an Indian restaurant called the "Nakamuraya" named after his father-in-law. After three hours of hearty talk and a sumptuous meal we parted that afternoon. I met him three or four times during my short stay in Japan that year. He told me of his

intense desire to visit India. I suggested to him that he had changed so much that he looked like a perfect well-fed Japanese Buddhist priest. If he wanted he could easily proceed on a Buddhist pilgrimage to India, but before doing so he should announce his serious illness and admission in a sanatorium on a hill-station in Japan to throw dust into the eyes of the British rulers of India who had announced a heavy reward for his arrest twenty years ago.

At the Helm of An Army: He laughed at my suggestion and said, "You a Gandhian, making such a suggestion! I shall come to India at the helm of an Indian army of freedom in ten years, but I do not want to go in disguise as a Buddhist monk on pilgrimage. The foundation has been laid today in Bangkok. The Japanese government has established their embassy in Thailand. The plans are all ready and God willing I shall achieve my ambition to kiss the soil of my Motherland after thirty years."

I welcomed his decision.

As a soldier of Mother India, he advised me to return to Japan as a permanent representative of the Hindustan Times since Japan was going to play a very important part in the World politics in the coming years. Besides, India could learn a great deal from Japan's phenomenal rise to power in the course of half a century. I promised him to return to Tokyo after six months.

His Life Story: One day we spent three hours together after dinner and he told me the whole story of his life and how he threw a bomb on Lord Hardinge from the office of the Punjab National Bank, how he escaped with a trunk load of surplus bombs and how he organised a public meeting to denounce the bomb outrage. He presided at the meeting. He was then a government servant in the forest department earning a salary of forty-five rupees. He then offered his services to the

C.I.D. to help them find out the culprit. They welcomed a bengali's offer to help since it was all along believed that it was the work of a Bengali revolutionary. He had made this offer to keep in touch with the C.I.D.'s investigation as he was the most involved person himself. He told me, "For several months I toured at government expense. In daytime I visited many places and police offices, but at night I would meet my revolutionary friends; often in the houses of dancing girls. When I suspected that the British investigators might soon find out that I was the culprit, I took no more chances and left India quietly. There was no passport system in those days, but in order to proceed further from Singapore to Japan a permit from the British authorities was necessary. I told them that I was Secretary to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore who was shortly proceeding to Japan on a lecture tour, and I had to make preliminary arrangements. They gave me the necessary permit and I proceeded to Japan. On reaching Japan I went to pay my respects to the greatest revolutionary of Japan, St. Toyama, who had six hundred thousand volunteers under him in the Black Dragon Society. I told him that I was coming from India, Motherland of the Buddha, and needed his help specially because of the Anglo-Japanese alliance which bound Japan to hand me over to the British if they found out that I was the culprit."

Saint Warns Prime Minister : St. Toyama readily agreed to give him shelter and invited the Prime Minister to his house. He told the Prime Minister that Rash Behari Bose, coming from the land of the Buddha, was a guest of the Japanese people and if the Prime Minister ever agreed to hand him over to the British, his head would be chopped off by the Black Dragon Society. The Prime Minister gave his word, and Rash Behari Bose became a guest of St. Toyama and was lodged in a Japanese House. The British Embassy and the Japanese Government received cables from the

British Government in London that Rash Behari Bose was the bomb thrower and that he should be handed over to the British authorities. The British Embassy in Yokohama engaged a squad of Japanese private detectives to trace the whereabouts of Rash Behari Bose. For seven years these detectives gave shelter to Rash Behari Bose instead of handing him over to the British authorities. The day they would find out where Rash Behari Bose was living, they would go to St. Toyama and tell him, "We have found the whereabouts of Rash Behari Bose. Please shift him to some other house and after one week we will inform the British Embassy that he was living in the previous house."

The game of hide and seek went on for seven years till the end of the Anglo-Japanese alliance' and the faithful Japanese friends never betrayed their Indian guest. Rash Behari Bose became a Japanese citizen, married a charming Japanese lady, daughter of Mr. Nakamoraya. They had a brave son and a charming daughter. The son died in the Japanese war, but the daughter is still living and she visited India sometime ago. She is happily married is a loving daughter of India even though she is a Japanese citizen.

He Translated My "Vanishing Empire" : Rash Behari Bose inspired me so much that I decided to return to Japan early in 1934 as a representative of the Hindustan Times and wrote my first book, "Secrets of Japan" with the help and inspiration from this great patriot. I spent nearly nine years in Japan untill my thirtysixth visit last year. Rash Behari Bose died during the war as a victim of Tuberculosis.

I.N.A. Is Born : However, before his death, he realised his ambition of raising the Indian National Army and establishing the first free republican government after inviting Netaji from Germany in 1942. Alas ! he did not live to see India free, but I am sure that he is reborn in free India, for which he

lived and died. I had become deeply devoted to him for his intense patriotism, his generous hospitality and his most winning manners. Often he came to our house to eat "dal roti" and regularly brought with him a tiffin carrier full of delicacies from his restaurant. He often took me to meetings of the Great Asia Society and of the Indian Independence League and we addressed the meetings together. He translated my book "The Vanishing Empire" into Japanese. My book was banned throughout the British Empire. The book was printed in Tokyo and I had to bring all the three thousand copies to America to be published by the leading Italian publisher Brentano on the 15th August 1937.

Prophecy That Came True : In the first paragraph of my book I said, "Believe it or not, the mighty British Empire is vanishing and the next decade will put England in her proper place and India will be free.

The book was published on 15th August 1937 and India became free in exactly ten years. My wife, who was with me in Japan and America did not agree with my optimism. Many so-called Indian nationalists in America laughed at my prophecy, but now they can laugh at themselves. The British tried their best to get the book banned in the United States, but President Roosevelt refused to oblige them and instead treated me as a State Guest during the war in 1944 to crusade for India's freedom from coast to coast. His great Secretary of State, Cordel Hull, told me, "My boy, tell Gandhi that short of going to war we will do anything to see India free."

Salute to Bose : My salute to compatriot Rash Behari Bose, who helped me to write my first book "Secrets of Japan" which was translated in Urdu by Dr. Zakir Hussain's Jamia Milia, in Hindi by the veteran statesman Babu Sri Prakasa, in Gujarati by Miss. Sarabhai, and in several other languages

of India. Rajaji wired to me, "I am dying to see your wonderful book translated in Tamil for the benefit of common man of the South. Can you send me blocks ?"

The entire first edition was sold out in Japan and America and I returned to India with only one copy in 1935. Babu Rajendra Prasad, the then Congress President asked me to return to Japan and print the second edition which I did. It took only fifteen days to print the second edition. The book had three editions in English and six translations. All this goes to the credit of the great Rash Behari Bose, who gave me the inspiration to write the book and to the late Seth Jugal Kishore Birla, who paid my expenses for my first trip to Japan. I shall ever be grateful to the two patriots who have left immortal names behind them.

CHAPTER XX

PREDICTIONS THAT CAME TRUE

The Vanishing Empire
India's Freedom Predicted
Second World War
Predicted In 1934
Defeat Of Japan
King George VI Missed Coronation
Freedom Of Africa
One That Failed

The United Press International editor in Tokyo had a long interview with me in 1960 several weeks before John F. Kennedy's election as President. I had written to him in July that he was going to win without fail. Here is the gist of my interview :—

Dressed in saffron robes, the Indian monk added: "I don't understand why so much fuss has been made and such unpleasantness is being created over the Presidential election. Whoever wins has to lead the non-communist world to come to terms with the communist world."

The Rev. Lal, who described himself as "A great lover of America and the American people," said these predictions he made came true :—

(1) In his book, "The Vanishin Empire", published in 1937, in U. S. A. (on 15th August), he said that India would be free in 10 years and 'exactly to the very day, August 15, 1947, India became free."

(2) He predicted the second world war as early as 1934. In his book, "*Secrets of Japan*", he wrote "Visit Japan before

1940", because he was sure war would break out *and it did break out in September, 1939.*

(3) He predicted in 1944 the downfall of Winston Churchill in the Postwar elections. *The Washington Post Published It On First Page.*

(4) In an article entitled, "Japan digging her graveyard in China", he predicted that Japan would be defeated and personally told Prime Minister Hirota that he would be hanged.

The Budhist Monk from India, who says he has made "correct" predictions on world affairs in the past 26 years, said on Friday night that John Kennedy "will certainly win the U.S. Presidential Elections."

The Rev. Chaman Lal, 57, who said he has published 35 books and travelled to the United States 30 times, told United Press International :

"I am quite sure Kennedy will win". He based his prediction on intuition. "There is no argument in intuition", he said.

The Monk declared, however, "I am not interested in politics, nor in the qualifications of any candidate. My prediction that Kennedy will win is based solely on intuition which is the result of deep meditation resulting in inside wisdom called *Prajana* (A sanskrit word)."

He also commented on the American Press U.S. Foreign Policy :

"The American Press is giving too much importance to this election which has become a national merry-go-round for the American people."

"What difference does it make to the world who i s elected," he asked. "American foreign policy is a bipartisan policy and whoever is President must carry out the will of the people."

Three More Predictions : He predicted in October, 1938

that King George the Sixth would never have a Coronation in India. He made this prediction in an article in the "Common Sense" political weekly run by Alfred Bingham, son of famous Senator Bingham. Chaman Lal predicted that the King would never visit India. A reception committee had been formed in Delhi and an exhibition was also planned in connection with the Coronation but the King never came to India.

One That Failed : My one prediction failed in 1968 when Vice President Humphrey narrowly missed being elected President, perhaps it was a case of wishful thinking because I love Mr. Humphrey. A student of the Modern School challenged my prediction and he predicted Nixon's victory when he was trailing behind by a 100000 votes. I salute the young student.

Freedom of Africa : I predicted the coming of the second world war and the freedom of the nations of Africa in this letter to my sister in 1935 (she was in prison).

My dear sister,

We are in Gibralter tonight after four days of very calm Atlantic voyage from America.

The lights of Africa (Tangier) have dimmed the lights of Gibralter. It means the rise of Africa as a great nation. The sea view of Africa with its million lights is far more fascinating than the dim rock of Gibralter which signifies the decaying Empire, subject of my book "The Vanishing Empire"—This is not just wishful thinking of your brother. It is a cycle—one wheel goes up and another goes down. The nations have cycles of destiny too. Our cycle is now on the upward move and despite the present dark clouds, we are bound to come up.

Second War Predicted : The great powers are preparing

for another trial in spite of the tall talks of peace. Our ship is full of troops—Khaki-khaki everywhere. I have made many friends among the military officers.

India's Freedom Predicted : Two years from now there will be no Indian problem. The war will be over and India will take her place among the democracies of the world as an independent, liberty-loving, democratic nation.

Chaman Lal, Indian author, lecturer and nationalist leader, who made this prophecy on Sunday, before a group of his compatriots, presented numerous reasons for his optimism.

"But my principal reason is the goodwill toward India by the people and Governments of the United States, the Soviet Union and China,. and the people of Great Britain," Lal said.

"Prime Minister Winston Churchill's conviction that he had not been summoned to his high post to preside over the partitioning of the Empire will not be able to withstand that.

"Besides, some of Mr. Churchill's apologists already have explained that his comment on the future of the British Empire did not apply to India.

According to Lal, the British public, like the American, would like to see India free.

"It does not share Mr. Churchill's views on India," he said. "Mr. Churchill will go down in history as a great great military leader, but not a great statesman.

"For crushing Hitler and eradicating fascism, the entire civilised world owes Mr. Churchill an eternal debt of gratitude. But his mission on earth will be over with the war. He is not the man to guide Britain and the world in post-war reconstruction."

Lal did not give details regarding his statement about America's backing of India's independence movement beyond saying that during his six months stay in the United States,

he spent some time in Washington and interviewed President Roosevelt, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Under Secretary Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. Assistant Secretary Adolf A. Berle and many other notables.

"On the Fourth of July, I cabled a message to my Indian compatriots behind the bars assuring them that they have no cause for pessimism regarding America's attitude toward our independence," he said.

(By Philip A. Adler in Washington Post, June 1944)

CHAPTER XXI

ROUND THE WORLD WITHOUT A PASSPORT

Trials Lead To Higher Things
"Vanishing Empire" Irritates
The Elephants Revenge
Psssport Confiscated
Saturday, Not A Good Day
Clever British Trick
Questions In Parliament
Lord Itwin's Revenge
Escape To Ireland
De Valera Helps
Banned Book—My Passport
American Captain's Welcome
French Play In British Hand
Thirty Days In Hitler's Germany
Refusal To Go To Berlin
Cheer In Starvation
Boat To Mexico
President Welcomes
Spineless American Government
Cancels Visa In Three Hours
British Journalist Spies
Locked Up In Hollywood
Corrupt American Police
A Month On The Pacific
Japan Refuses Landing
Hongkong Bans Lunch
Singapore Scares Sympathisers
Colombo Bans Friends
Back To Mother India

"Life Is A Struggle"
God Slumbers Not
Ever-Inspiring Songs.

"We are always in the forge, or on the anvil ; by trials God is shaping us for higher things."

—H. W. Beecher.

Courage and Faith are the saviours of those who have right insight and right conviction.

"Your former Viceroy Lord Irwin (Foreign Secretary) regards you as greatest enemy of British Empire and despite all my persuation refuses to let you proceed to America"

—Labour leader George Lansbury.

"You killed your Passport with your Book—The Vanishing Empire'—"

—A Member of India Council

My whole life has been a life of thrills but the two great adventures of my life were a trip round the world without a passport in 1937-38 and a still more exciting trip round the world during the war in 1944 in two convoys which were subjected to repeated torpedo attacks—once twice in one night.

These two trips were a test of my faith in the great Father who inspires and emboldens humble people to challenge mighty empires.

This is how I briefly recorded the fresh impressions of the first trip in the Modern Review of Calcutta ; and a dozen leading dailies of India.

In March, 1938, I left India on my fifth trip abroad in order to reach the United States to publish my new book on *America.* On reaching England I was deprived of my passport. I was told that I had murdered the passport with my book, *The Vanishing Empire*, published in America and banned in India. I was, however, promised that I would get it back after a while and that I could ask my wife and child to join me, and accordingly they reached London in June.

But the India Office officials failed to keep their promise and always said that the British Foreign Office was definitely against my visit to foreign countries. I struggled in London for full five months to get my passport back in order to proceed to the United States, from where I received fresh invitations for lectures every month. Mr. George Lansbury, the most respected and popular M. P., and several other members of the British Parliament pleaded with the Great Moghul, Lord Zetland, to return my passport, but I failed to get it back even during the September crisis. I wrote to Lord Zetland: "While you, the English people, are sending away your children to places of safety and digging trenches, haven't I the right to take my wife and child to a safe destination? Why not return my passport to enable me to travel to America?" The 'Great Moghul' never agreed. But the Irish people, true to their traditions, proved very kind and hospitable hosts.

In Ireland: I managed to reach Dublin by evading the smart watchmen of the Scotland Yard, who not only watched me, but censored every telephone call, every letter and every press telegram and news-letters that I sent to the Indian newspapers.

On reaching Dublin I had a long interview with Mr. De Valera, to whom I was introduced six years ago by the late Mr. V. J. Patel. He gave me a very cordial welcome and I felt like a free man once again. My wife and child joined me after a week, during which time some Senators and Deputies devised plans to send me to Central America without a passport. They were all experts in this art. One of them had three passports, another had absconded from a British prison and entered America twice without a passport, while others were all tried and skilled members of the Irish Republican Party. We spent two months in the most hospitable and beautiful atmosphere of Ireland and every Irish man

and Irish woman who met us gave us cheer and showed keen interest in the cause of India's independence. My banned book, *The Vanishing Empire*, was given a warm welcome by Mr. De Valera's paper and, in fact, by the entire Irish Press. We studied the Irish struggle for freedom from close quarters and received tremendous inspiration from the great and heroic deeds of Irish martyrs, whose history is recorded in the Irish National Museum.

Banned Book as Passport: Though the Irish friends insisted on our staying on in Ireland for a few years, I decided to take a chance to reach America, before the outbreak of a world war. In the end of October everything was arranged by friends. My wife and child, who had their passports, returned to India and the same day I left for Cork (the home of the great martyr Macswiney), from where it was arranged that I should take *President Washington*, to France and then change my boat from Le Havre to Central America (Mexico). On the gangway, while every other passenger was asked to show his passport, the smiling and friendly Irish official asked me, "Mr. Lal, may I have an autographed copy of your book, *The Vanishing Empire*" My book thus served as my passport. On the boat I was lucky to meet Mr. Meherally (returning from America). When my boat reached Le Havre, I was not allowed to land and change my boat for Mexico, from whose Government I had a special permission welcoming me to the country, waiving all regulations against the Indian visitors.

The police official at first promised that he would try to give me police escort to put me on my boat for Mexico but he returned later and said, "Orders from Paris are, 'Do not let him land under any circumstances'." He added "You know we cannot displease England, our only ally." Somehow I managed to go to the city and meet the Mexican Consul, who gave me a letter for the Police that my papers were valid for Mexico and I should be allowed to change my boat, but the

pro-British French agent of the shipping company never took that letter to the police and thus I was a problem for the captain of the ship. Now the ship had to go to Hamburg, and after five days stay return to New York. So I was taken as a free passenger to Hamburg, where I was threatened to be imprisoned according to the rules, for having no passport. But the banned book once again came to my rescue and I was given a special permission to stay for one month to wait for the next boat to Mexico.

Fasting in Germany: I was financially unprepared for a month's unexpected stay and all that I had was hardly enough for one meal a day and I lost ten pounds in weight (for good). It was very cold in Hamburg (November) and I had no European hat or heavy shoes and I caught cold. I tried to sell some copies of my book, but under the rules no bookseller could buy it without a permit from Berlin. A few days before my departure for Mexico I met a newspaperman who made my book famous (every German paper published a review in most glaring headlines), Hitler's own paper gave a streamer on the front page. I knew nothing about it till the day of my departure, when a high official came to buy my books. I had only three copies, which brought me 27 Marks and I purchased my first European hat and shoes to protect me from cold. During the previous four trips I had always travelled in Indian clothes.

In Mexico: After one month's voyage I reached Mexico, where I was given a most friendly reception by both officials and non-officials. I took Indian presents for President Cardenas, who admired the fine silver-gold work, the ivories and embroideries.

In Mexico I sold my books and delivered lectures and was prosperous once again. The President gave me a special passport to proceed to the United States, but the American Consul,

who being a socialist was very friendly to me, failed to give a visa after having definitely promised. Miss Perkins, Minister of Labour, and the U.S. State Department had promised in writing to give me fullest help and everything was O.K., but the British Government interfered again and within a couple of hours a cable came from Washington which upset all my plans to publish my book *Roosevelt's America*.

After a very successful study trip in Mexico I managed to leave for India *via* Hollywood (Los Angeles) and Japan on the Mexican Passport.

Locked up at Hollywood: It is an irony of fate that one (myself) who had been an ardent lover of democracy and supported it during twenty years of journalistic and political career, was persecuted and penalised by the three great democracies, England, France and America. When our boat reached Hollywood I expected to be greeted by the usual charming American 'Hello' and a smile, but instead I was locked up in my cabin without any justification. I could not believe that this could happen in America. The Immigration Inspector who was accompanied by a snobbish-looking Englishman (a British Consulate Official) was very rude to me and I could realise that his sole aim was to see my Mexican papers. I did not want to part with them and therefore refused to show him. I preserved the papers with the captain of the boat.

The following conversation took place between the Immigration Inspector and myself (I recorded it in my diary within half an hour):

I.I. Can you identify yourself?

C.L. Here is my visiting card.

I.I. This is not enough, show me your papers to identify yourself. We have Information that you are travelling on a Mexican passport.

C.L. It is none of your business to ask for it, since I have decided not to land in America, which plays *to the tune of*

the British Government and whose Government can issue and cancel visa within three hours (as it did to me).

I.I. You have to prove your identity.

C.L. You better go and ask the captain.

The Inspector then went to the captain of the Japanese boat and told him, "I want to detain this fellow on the boat," and saying so he turned towards me and said, "I want to lock you up."

C.L. What for ?

I.I. You shall be locked up, since these are my orders and I don't want to argue.

C.L. Under whose orders you take that step ? I must know who permitted you to do it, since I will report the case to the President.

The Inspector retorted, "Who cares for the President". "So this is your democracy," I told him and went into my cabin, which was locked immediately by the Inspector, port holes meant for fresh breeze were also closed and guard was placed outside the cabin. I was not allowed to go to the bath room for a couple of hours and I recalled to myself the happy days in the solitary cell in the Multan Jail and enjoyed myself thoroughly. I was not allowed to speak to the captain nor permitted to ring up the Ananda Ashrama of Swami Paramananda, where I wanted to convey the news to friends. The passengers were very sympathetic and so were the ship officials but they were all helpless. An American lady rang up friends in the Ashrama which was 30 miles from the Port and told them the whole story of 'Democracy in action.' When the boat sailed the guard came to me and apologized and wanted a word from me. I gave him a card with the words, "To—the dumb tool of Corruption." Later I learned that the inspector took the action at the instigation of the local British Consul and his action was unauthorised.

"*Corrupt Officials*" : Thus I bade good-bye to the beautiful

city of Hollywood from the boat, wondering why America had treated an old friend so shabbily. An American passenger told me, "Everything is possible here, since our officials are corrupt." I did not say a word since I had very pleasant and grateful memories of the wonderful hospitality accorded to me by American officials, Mayors, police chiefs, prison officials, merchants, professors, students and peasants during my several tours in the United States. I still prefer to remember all that is good and beautiful and regard the Hollywood experience as a stray act of corruption.

I am confident that some day in the near future the same officer will greet me. Can you beat my optimism ?

A Month Without Land : Thus I had to pass full one month on the sea without landing any where and sometimes I felt sick of such a long sea voyage which began telling on my nerves. A short landing breaks the monotony of the sea voyage, but I was not permitted and was instead locked up in a most ruthless manner. I used to devote most of my time in writing my new book *Hindu America* (since published). The fifty Japanese children used to keep me busy with Indian games which I taught them. There were hardly four non-Japanese passengers and they, too, were often sea-sick and I could snatch a few hours from the captain to play bridge, whenever we could make four. The Japanese children provided a good study. Their patriotism was manifest on every occasion. Whenever a Japanese boat passed by our boat, they would wave their national flags and shout national slogans. They used to study maps, and were proud of Japan's commercial and naval power. They used to salute the Sun Flag every morning and bow to the Emperor (facing towards the Imperial Palace in Tokyo). They used to read stories and draw pictures of Japan's national heroes like General Togo. They used to have regular school on the boat. They staged dramas and plays of national heroes and spent their time very usefully. The children became

my dear companions and I enjoyed their society.

After a month our boat reached Yokohama (Japan) and on the pier I found Raja Mahendra Pratap waving his kerchief. In Japan, too, the difficulty arose about my landing, since I had no British passport, but when I rang up the head of the 'America Bureau', who happened to be an old friend of mine, he agreed to permit me to land temporarily until the first boat for India left.

The press in Japan gave me a warm welcome and my book, *Vanishing Empire*, banned by the British, had a brisk sale there.

The Indian community of Japan held several receptions and were anxious to hear of my travels and tribulations. I shall never forget the kindness shown to me by my compatriots during my visit to Japan. Mr. Ali, our permanent host (a relation of the late Justice Tyabji) is a unique type of a Muslim, very religious, yet very patriotic and highly cultured.

Refused a Ticket: In Japan N. Y. K. line refused to sell me a ticket, because the British officials in Japan told them I would not be allowed to land in India. I paid return fares to Japan plus 18 days' expenses (over £ 10) in Bombay and Karachi, and thus the company agreed to sell me a ticket. It was the first case that a passenger was brought without a passport and the company was naturally nervous.

Guarded Everywhere: I was refused permission to land in Hongkong, Singapore, Penang and Colombo and was guarded day and night by Police at all ports, under instructions from British Foreign Office. I was described as the subject of 'Circular telegram M 706'.

In Bomby I landed without any trouble and thus ended my trip without passport after 15 months.

Liberty Loving Roosvelt: The correspondence that passed between me and the British rulers during the 15 months of

exile could easily fill a whole book but I reproduce here some letters to prove that my faith in God and my mission always won at every stage and my banned book "The Vanishing Empire" did more work in America than my tour could have, had my passport not been confiscated or myself banned from landing at Hollywood. The late President Roosevelt refused to ban my book in America and the New York Public Library ordered several dozen copies because of the great demand by readers. My book had been dedicated 'to the Liberty loving people of America' of that decade (now it is different). My passport was very politely confiscated on a Saturday in March 1937. I was told "Saturday is not a good day, please come on Monday when your passport will be renewed". But that Monday never came. A member of the Indian Council told me that the British Government had not played cricket by allowing me to leave India and confiscate my passport on my way to America. He suggested that the Government should pay fifty percent of my travel expenses and six months detention in London as a result of confiscation of my passport. I wrote to him on 15th August, 1938 :—

Personal

40 Park Hill, Rd.,
London, N. W. 3.
15th Aug.

Respected Sir,

This is just to thank you for your very kind treatment of a rebel of your Government. You had agreed with me that the Government of India should share fifty percent responsibility for my damages and it was only on your advice (given so sincerely), that I agreed to return to India provided the Government could undo the injustice and wrong it had done me. But it seems even a high official of your eminent position has failed to convince the rulers of India that "love makes friends, repression creates enemies".

I challenge the Government to prove that I have misused my passport. It is their under-hand-tactics and continued persecution (still continues) which has made me a hardened enemy of British rule and if they had the sense and foresight, they could let me work for my country. I am extremely sorry for them. They will repent some day, while you will be proud of your part.

I wonder what is their argument in reply to my contention. Could you tell me what is their explanation to my charge of trapping me in London. I shall treat the reply as confidential if you so advise. I am very thankfull to you for your kindness.

You are a fine Englishman but nobody cares for your advice.

Sincerely yours,
Chaman Lal

* * * *

40, Park Hill Road,
London, N. W. 3,
10th July, 1938.

To
The Chief Passport Officer,
British Foreign Office,
1, Queen Anne's Gate Buildings,
Westminster, S. W. I.

Dear Sir,

It is nearly three months since I applied for an urgent renewal of my British Indian Passport No. 5311, (Delhi).

On the 24th of April, I was told that it was not a good day (being Saturday) and that the weather was not good, hence I should expect it in a "couple of days", but later I learnt that the Government of India was to advise on the subject. (I am sure that "Red Tapism" has been gone through).

Since then I reminded you and your office twice, but I have no acknowledgement as to whether my passport will be

renewed and if so when ? I feel that in these days of four air mails a week, three months should be considered quite long enough to decide a small matter like the renewal of my passport. I am privately informed that the final decision of the Indian agency (called Government) was received here over a month ago.

Please ask the Indian Office to let me have the final decision as early as possible. *If my passport is not returned to me (renewed) within a week and no valid reason is given for your failure to do so, I will be compelled to take some direct action to bring the matter to the notice of lovers of freedom in Britain.*

(The late Mr. George Lansbury advised me to quietly go to Ireland instead of courting arrest in England. And so I sent a confidential letter to Mr. De-Valera (through the Irish High Commissioner) who invited me to Dublin.)

With thanks.

Yours sincerely,
Chamanlal

The British are Mysterious : The London correspondent of India's leading most nationalist daily *The Hindu* took cudgels against the British Government. He wrote under the title "Mr. Chaman Lal's Case".

On what basis does the Government of India deal with passports ? I ask this because I recall the seizure here of the passport of Mr. Masani, and now have before me the case of Mr. Chaman Lal of Delhi, author of a banned book called "Vanishing Empire". Mr. Chaman Lal's book has annoyed the authorities in India, and it is also a fact that like a good many more Indians he is personal non-grata because of his political past and present. He was in possession of a passport, vaild upto April 29 last, and with this he left India for England. On applying here for a renewal of his passport he was told that the matter has to be referred to the Governmentof India, and his precious

documents, without which nobody can move, or even effectively establish his identity, was retained.

Normally the renewal of passports is almost automatic in this country. No political prejudices or considerations affect the matter. Our authorities do not act on their own initiative if they retain, or temporarily suspend the passport of an Indian. They act under instructions from Delhi, or may be Simla, but the difficulty is to understand what the Government of India thinks it is doing when it even momentarily deprives a visitor of the usual facilities for travelling. Conditions in India being what they are, it is possible to appreciate that the Government may deprive a man of his right to leave the country. In that case it should confiscate his passport but to let him go away, and then "leave him up in the air" when he gets over here—whatever may be the reasons—is hardly fair and certainly not intelligible.

The Manchester Guardian correspondent wrote :

"It is a shabby treatment. It would have been perfectly easy for the Government to refuse him (Mr. Lal) the passport in India, thus not subjecting him to the expense and inconvenience of his own and his wife and child's journey to England. But the ways of our Government are mysterious."

Believe it or not the "Hindustan Times" (where I gave the best 15 years of my life) published a report from its London correspondent saying that my Passport had not been confiscated. This correspondent was in the pay of the British Government and later published two books against Mahatma Gandhi, and the Indian National Congress.

Digging Trenches in London : In September 1938 when the Czech crisis threatened war in Europe and the British were digging air shelters and trenches in London—I cabled (from Dublin) to Lord Zetland to return my passport. I asked him "When you are digging trenches and sending your children to

places of safety am I not entitled to take my wife and child to a safe country like America" ?

Elephant Never Forgives: *Like the Proverbial Elephant the British never forgave the Author of The Vanishing Empire even while war was threatening and I received the following letter on 6th October, 1938 in Dublin.*

India Office,
White Hall,
London, S.W.1.
5th October, 1938.

Sir,

With reference to your telegram addressed to Lord Zetland dated 28th September, and your letter of 29th September, 1938, in which you had asked for passport facilities to enable you to proceed to America or alternatively for the payment by Government of the expenses of your return to India, I am directed to refer to the replies on these matters given in the letters from this Department of the 26th August and 23rd September, 1938, Nos. P. & J. 4066 and 4531/38, and to say that the Secretary of State has nothing to add to them. (He wanted me to return to India without passing through the continent. He was afraid I may go to Germany, Russia or Italy).

As you have already been informed, if you are without means to enable you to return to India and wish to submit an application for repatriation at Government expense, it is open to you to submit for consideration such an application which should be addressed to the Secretary to the High Commissioner for India, India House, Aldwych, W.C.2.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant

Touching Farewell: Thanks to Mr. De Valera and his able lieutenants who made all arrangements for my departure for

America without a passport on 22nd October, I was able to sail from Ireland on an American boat, while my wife and daughter returned to India the same day. It was a rather touching farewell in view of the impending world war and uncertainties of a reunion. I wrote the following letter to my wife to cheer her up in her lonely months:

Rani Dear,

Destiny is stronger than love and time has come when the iron hand of the cruel Government has compelled us to part. God alone knows when we shall meet again. One thing is however certain that my fight with the ruthless enemy is going to be tough. It will demand heavy sacrifice and I am now prepared for it. "Love versus duty to the cause" has been my problem and now it seems the latter will command my energies but the soul will always remain devoted to your love and will receive your full support and blessings.

I am extremely ashamed that I have failed to serve you because of my shortcomings and especially poverty but you will realise that they are beyond my control, since I must fight tyranny and there can be no comfort in the war of independence.

I part with full confidence that better days for our motherland are coming, sooner than you can imagine, and we will be reunited in a free India.

But if the fight for freedom demands my life (it is quite possible) and I do not return to India, my soul shall always be with you, since the soul never dies and no Government however powerful and cruel can imprison it.

Whenever you feel lonely you can see me in Vina, the sweet child of true love. Always keep faith and cheer.

True love never fails.

Dublin
Oct. 22, 38.

Lovingly Ever
Chaman Lal

British Barbarism: America's oldest Journalist Charles Edward Russell who had later arranged a lecture tour for me in the United States, wrote to me earlier :—

"My dear Mr. Lall :

I am astonished, exasperated and deeply concerned by what you tell me in your letter of March 31. That you, the sincere and unselfish friend of the people of India, who have championed their cause so persistently and still so wisely, should be subjected to such experiences is an evidence of surviving barbarism for which, I must admit, I was not prepared. I thought that however much the governing powers might differ from your aims and purposes they would atleast recognise the patent fact of your sincerity and the high level upon which you hold your efforts. If you, who have been just, reasonable and frank, cannot be immune from persecution, who can be ?

I shall hope to hear from you in another letter the details of your painful travail.

Tomorrow night in New York there will be a dinner of the friends of India in honour of the new President of the Indian Congress. I have written a letter to be read at the dinner, but if I knew the details of your adventures I should go over in person to tell them at the dinner party.

I wonder if any of my letters have reached you. If not, you must have thought me singularly negligent.

I hope to hear from you soon and fully. I do not need to assure you of my entire sympathy. I hope all will be well with you in England."

Yours affectionately
Charles Edward Russell.

Love Letter to Zetland: From Havana (aboard the German Steamer taking me to Mexico) I sent the following letter to Lord Zetland British Secretary of State for India :—

"Dear Sir,

So destiny (which is mightier than red tape) has brought me to Mexico and I will realisé my dream of studying the ancient civilisation of American Indians, live with them and write about them. That was my long cherished dream.

After a couple of months or even earlier I would like to return to India and settle down finally to carry on constructive work in India. Will you please issue necessary permit or return my passport. I have no intention to stop in Europe. I would like to return by an Italian boat since it would be cheaper for me (on return fare from Geneva), I came on an Italian boat, as you know.

Now you have tried your extreme powers of repression, confiscation and what not, and yet I am alive and kicking, so why not declare a halt to the policy which is undemocratic, unwise and dangerous. You cannot fight God. I have faith in God, while you have faith in your old guns and old policies.

I give you a gentleman's offer, if you want to change your policy which promotes enemies, the choice rests with you. I can assure you I have still no bitterness. I can forgive even the lonely exile of one month in Hamburg, caused by your Overlordship of France, which did not permit me to land in Le Havre (of course under instructions from London)' I have overcome starvation, exile, worry, persecution and all pinpricks because of my faith in God. Now let us attend to the great constructive work in India, over which we all agree. *India's destiny is fixed beyond your control.*

"Friendship or . . . . ." is your choice. Think it over before another crisis in Europe.

With all the love and best wishes for a happy Christmas,

Sincerely yours,
Chaman Lal

Prophecy of Better Days : During all the 15 months of exile

my faith in God never once wavered as I could always see a vision of free India in the very near future. In my book published on 15th August, 1937 I had definitely forecast India's freedom in 1947 and had declared "Believe it or not—the mighty British Empire is vanishing. The next decade will put England in her proper place and India will be free." My wife who was then with me in America refused to believe that India's freedom was coming so soon.

In April 1939 I wrote to her from my boat on the pacific:—

Our Better Days are coming. Can't you see them coming? Be ready to welcome them. As the birds in garden can smell the advent of spring, so does your Chaman foresee the beautiful spring coming to the autumn stricken India.

"The glorious pacific sunshine has come back, the weather is fine after several bad days, the sea birds have come from Japan to escort our ship to their motherland. The birds are happy and busy chirping and singing since they come from a free country. Even my steward, who seldom laughs, is happy and smiling. Happiness is in the air, joy and the fragrance of cherry blossoms pervades every where. All signs indicate that our spring is near, Rejoice my soul that Mother India will wear her crown again.

Lots of love to you, Vina and Mother India."

Results of War Foretold: IN ANOTHER LETTER I SAID: *"Very momentous times are coming. This is a critical year, war is imminent. This war will decide the fate of many lands, new powers will rise, the old ones will die, England and France will become third class powers. India will emerge a Free Nation and this freedom will spread to many other lands in Asia and Africa which will hereafter play much greater role in world politics."*

"We have a unique chance in the years 1939 to 1945,

when Greedy Nations are going to Smash their heads against each other. That is the Will of God. That is the Law of Nature. No Chamberlains and Daladiers and no Pious Appeals from Dear Old Roosevelt can stop the wheels of destiny. They who robbed shall have to pay."

Life is a Struggle : I want to share with the reader the text of three songs that gave me cheer and courage during my exile, especially when I was under going semi-starvation in Germany because of lack of funds and my refusal to accept Hitler's invitation to visit Berlin since I did not like his persecution of the Jews. Read "Thirty days in Hitler's Germany" in author's "Love, Life and Liberty."

(i) *Life is a Struggle*
Live like heroes
If you had to cry and bemoan
Why did you come into this world ?
Life is a struggle
The world is not a bed of roses,
It is rather a forest of thorns,
Act bravely, act fearlessly,
Life is a struggle
Those who are afraid to face hardships, die before their death
They who struggle, achieve success
Act bravely and fearlessly,
Life is a struggle, Life is a struggle.

* * * *

(ii) *God Slumbers Not*
Brother don't be discouraged,
For God slumbers not, nor sleeps.
The tighter the knot,
The shorter will be our period of bondage,
The ghastlier the frown,
The quicker our eyes will get opened.

Today you have to work hard, brother,
You have no time for dreams any more—
Listen, brother
The louder they growl,
The sooner we will wake up from our slumber of shame.
The harder they try to crush your spirit, brother,
The stronger will be the foundation
Of our future greatness.
The fiercer they strike on the waters of your
Love for Ind,
The higher will rise the waves thereof.
The more heartless the strokes of tyranny
The sooner their flag will kiss the dust.
Don't be discouraged, brother,
For God slumbers not nor sleeps.

(by Rabindernath Tagore, translated by Basanta Kumar Roy)

(iii) *Enthusiasm is Life*

No cause can triumph without enthusiasts. No life is worth living without enthusiasm.

Christ and His followers who carried His religion to every corner of the world were enthusiasts.

Edison, who gave us the electric light, the phonograph and the moving picture, was an enthusiast.

President Roosevelt is an enthusiast.

They Live throughout every day every year. Life to them is full to the very limit. Like a prancing steed, they feel the impetus to do things. They see big things where the ordinary man does not find even ordinary-interest. Gandhi, Nehru and Netaji are enthusiasts.

It is people of this sort who fill life with great purposes.

Sometimes their enthusiasm wanes. A great disappointment intervenes. The stimulus of vigorous health is lost.

But a soul that has once been fired with divine enthusiasm has not lived in vain.

It is only then that you can feel the kinship of God. It is only then that you come in direct contact with things divine. (Written in 1938)

Suddents and scientists have tried for centuries to find the human soul. Where is it located? How much does it weigh? They want to analyse and dissect it.

But the human soul is deeply embedded within the life's spirit that is voiced in the form of enthusiasm.

Enthusiasm is the soul of man come to life.

And when you lose enthusiasm the spirit of life begins to flicker. It is then you join the neutral class—the "has-beens". You live in the past.

The future holds nothing for you.

Whatever you do, hold like grim death to enthusiasm. Retain this life spirit to the fullest possible extent.

When enthusiasm is on the wane your emotions are dulled. You cannot feel things keenly. You lose the human touch. Your thoughts become mechanical. You are no longer in kinship with God. You are sinking to the lower levels.

Hold on to enthusiasm to life's last moments.

* * * *

The World of Isms: COMMUNISM—If you have two cows, you give them to the government. It then gives you some of the milk.

FASCISM—If you have two cows you keep and milk both (thus cnjoying the privilege of steady employment), then you give the milk to the government which kindly sells some of it back to you.

NAZISM—If you have two cows and Hitler finds it out, he will take both or meter their teats. You may be shot for a hoarder.

NEW DEAL—If you have two cows you may be ordered to shoot one. Then you milk the other and throw half the milk down the sink. The other half you sell to a monopoly which will put it into a pretty bottle and sell it back to you at WHAT a profit ?—The EPIC.

PRODUCTION FOR USE—You count all cows in your own and your neighbuors pastures, also the people and especially kids who should have milk. Then you plan with your neighbuors that all amounts needed are produced and justly distributed. Perhaps if we all use our brains we may find out that it is really no harder to chart a path by which a glass of milk will reach a kid's mouth than it is to chart the course of a comet. We can do the last. Why not the former ?

Great Religions—Few Followers: Hinduism. Do not follow lofty Hindu ideals. Only lick British boots. Present addresses to Odwayer and Dyer and throw bombs on Gandhi (Written in 1931) (A Hindu killed him in 1948).

Buddhism. Devour tons of meat and Drinks. Proclaim you are a Buddhist and recite the three refuges:

Buddham Sharnam Gachhami
Dharmam Sharnam Gachhami
Sangham Sharnam Gachhami

The religions are many but religious people are few.

GLOSSARY

ALMIRAH	Wardrobe.
AMRITSARS	Refers to shooting of 1200 innocent persons by General Dyer in the city of Amritsar.
BANDOBUST	Arrangement.
BANIA	Shop-keeper.
BIRI	Indigenous cigarette.
BIGHA	About 4/5ths acre.
BHISTEE	Water-carrier.
CHARKHA	The spinning wheel.
CHOWK	Courtyard.
CHOWKIDAR	Village police.
CHOWKIDAR TAX . .	Special Government tax for protection.
CRORE	Ten millions.
CUTCHERY	Magistrate court.
DAROGA	Police officer.
DAFFADER	Police officer.
FRONTIER GANDHI . .	Leader of "Red Shirts".
GHARWALIS	Soldiers from a Himalayan tribe.
GOMASTAH	Agent.
GOONDAS	Hooligans.
GURKHA	Soldier recruited from Nepal.
HAJAT	Police custody.
HAVILDAR	Army officer.
HINDUSTAN	India.
Hind (Ind)	India.
JAMADAR	Army officer.
KHAL	Canal.
KHADAR	Home spun cloth.
KHUDAI KHIDMATGARS	"Servants of God" called "Red Shirts".
LATHI	Long bamboo staff, stuffed with lead.

MAMLATDAR	Government official.
MOUHURIR	Clerk.
MOHAMMEDAN . . .	Mussalman—Moslem—Muslim.
PATHANS	A tribe of N. W. F. Province.
RAJ	Government.
RS. (RUPEES)	32 cents.
SARI	Indian woman's dress, known for grace and charm.
SATYAGRAHIS	Civil Resisters.
SIKHS	A brave and martial sect of Hindus.
SWADESHI	Country made.
SWARAJ	Self-government.
THANEDAR	Police chief.
THANA	Police station.
TONGA	A kind of Rickshaw or carriage.
ZAMINDAR	Landlord.
ZENANA	Female quarters.
ZAILDAR	Government official.

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